





FOURTH  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,  
WITH THE  
SPEECHES  
DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING  
HELD IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,  
On the 9th MAY, 1837.  
AND THE  
MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR BUSINESS.

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NEW-YORK:  
PRINTED BY WILLIAM S. DORR,  
123 FULTON-STREET.

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1837.

# CONSTITUTION.

OF THE

## AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS the Most High God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas our national existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God, and the world, nearly one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens; and whereas slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive to the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union and liberties of the States; and whereas we believe it the duty and interest of the masters, immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation, that will be opposed to the continuance of slavery in any part of the republic, and by affecting the speedy abolition of slavery, prevent a general convulsion; and whereas we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a society, to be governed by the following

### CONSTITUTION

#### ART. I.

This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

#### ART. II.

The object of this Society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia,—and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

#### ART. III.

This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

#### ART. IV.

Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a slaveholder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at the meetings.

#### ART. V.

The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretaries, a Treasurer, and a Board of Managers, composed of the above, and not less than ten other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the Society, and five shall constitute a quorum.



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FOURTH ANNIVERSARY  
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THE Fourth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held on the 9th day of May, 1837, in the BROADWAY TABERNACLE, in the City of New-York. At 10 o'clock, A. M., the Chair was taken by MR. ARTHUR TAPPAN, President of the Society.

Prayer was offered, and a portion of the Scriptures read by REV. LEICESTER A. SAWYER, of New Haven, Connecticut.

An abstract of the Annual Report was read by ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR., Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

On motion of ALVAN STEWART, Esq. of Utica,

*Resolved*,—That the Fourth Annual Report be accepted and published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Let it go, said Mr. Stewart, and tell our brethren in Europe, that there are yet among us seventy times seven thousand, who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of Slavery, and whose lips have not kissed him.

On motion of JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq. of Ohio,

*Resolved*,—That all plans for the extinction of slavery, which are *gradual* in their character, are ineffectual under existing circumstances, to accomplish their professed object.

In support of this resolution, MR. BIRNEY said—

Mr. President—The agitations of the last two or three years, guilty as may have been the agents that excited them, and greatly as they have been lamented by the friends of law and order, have not been without advantages. Mortifying as it has been to behold it, yet they have shewn to us our true condition as a people—they have brought to the light the evils of slavery and its despotism over us. I do not mean to say, that these evils did not

exist before the inquisition that has been made, nor that they have yet been laid open in the fulness of their enormity. No: they have always existed where slavery has existed—have been its inseparable concomitants—the shadow to the substance. But the cause which produced them was not fully understood, till developed by recent disclosures. At this day, to the unbiased and discerning, it is clear, that the evils which chiefly defile and poison our domestic state, which paralyze the power of religious truth, and menace the existence of our free institutions, may be satisfactorily traced to the condition of slavery existing among us. They are seen and acknowledged as flowing from this source, by all who are not infected by its influence, direct or indirect, as clearly as intemperance is seen and acknowledged in its malignant effects by all who are not the subjects of it, or who have no selfish interest to be advanced by its continuance.

It is not any material difference of opinion as to the evils of slavery that divides the effective moral influence of our country—it is as to the *manner* in which they are to be removed. I say *removed*, in exclusion of all plans of *amelioration*. Amelioration is the device of the perpetual slaveholder—because, whilst it contemplates no extermination of the evils of slavery, it deludes its assailant, and gives time for the growth and maturity of his system and for the strengthening of its entrenchments.

I speak confidently, when I say, there is now a large and rapidly increasing number of the most estimable, patriotic, and intelligent of our countrymen, who, agreeing on the evils of slavery, on the magnitude and certainty of the danger with which they threaten all that is valuable and worthy to be cherished among us—freedom of speech and of the press, the right to investigate truth, to publish its results, and to act consistently with them—aye, the government, liberty, and religion itself—who thus agreeing, are resolved before it be too late, to act by all lawful means for the removal of these evils. With the same object in view, the entire amotion of the evils of slavery, and this too, by the extermination of the cause from which they spring, they are divided as to the most effectual means of accomplishing their common purpose, consistently with the safety and integrity of the high interests I have mentioned. Whilst one party looks on the *immediate* relinquishment of slavery as duty to God, and therefore the best security that can be had for all our interests, social, political, and moral, enjoyed under his supreme administration—the other, fearing for the safety of those interests in any sudden change from the present restraints imposed by slavery to a full introduction of the sufferers into liberty, believe that under such circumstances, duty to God and man will be discharged by a gradual undermining and abstraction of the cause of the acknowledged evils. Thus, these two parties cover the whole ground of emancipation, for every plan that has yet been proposed falls into one or the other of these two classes, *immediate* or *gradual*.

I will not stop here, sir, to demonstrate the consistency or inconsistency of either of these plans, so far as they claim to make Christian rectitude their basis

and criterion. I will place them both on the same footing as to honesty of purpose by those who have embraced them as effectual modes of removing the evils of slavery.

The schemes for the gradual removal of slavery from among us, have been of long standing and various. The consideration of the whole genus was first seriously taken up as applicable to Virginia, on the discovery and suppression of a projected insurrection in that state thirty-seven years ago. The aid of Mr. Jefferson's knowledge and experience was called in. The gradual removal of the colored people of Virginia, by colonization in different parts of the world was submitted to this distinguished man, then President of the United States. To colonizing them in the then unsettled lands, north of the Ohio, in the newly acquired territory west of the Mississippi, in the British territory north of us—in the territories of Spain on our west—in those of France, Spain, and Portugal on the Southern Continent—in the West Indies, and lastly in Africa, objections were found either on our own part, or were anticipated on that of the different powers to be addressed on the subject that were deemed insurmountable or actually proved so. No movement in relation to any one of them was made after the present danger which had excited their discussion had passed away. The important question, *how slavery was to be extinguished*, lay unmoved from this time till the beginning of 1817. The inertness of the nation on this subject was not because humanity was dormant during this long period—but its temporary repose may be accounted for, in some measure at least, from our harassing relations with other governments, especially that of Great Britain, and to our engaging in a war to which our exterior difficulties had for a long time tended.

Peace being restored, the cause of the colored man was again resumed. Humanity thought, that for such of them as were free, she had found a happier abode, and pointed to the distant shores of Africa. Is it an offence to any one, that I favorably connect the name of that divinity with African Colonization? If it be, to him I have to say, that his repudiation of the scheme under every phase which it can be made to assume, cannot be more decisive than mine. There is no part nor parcel of it that I do not think injurious to the welfare of our colored countrymen, that does not detract from the solemnity and value of human liberty, and retard the advancement of Christian truth. Firmly, as I believe in the correctness of these opinions, not less firmly do I believe, that the summons to colonization was regarded by a large number of the best men in the land, as a call to the work of religion and humanity—to the cause of God and man. As such they engaged in it—as such they expended their time and strength, and nobly contributed of their means for its advancement. Whilst some of this class had their eye fastened only on the insult and oppression to which the colored man among us was exposed continually—and others were looking with the intensity of religious solicitude to the civilization and christianization of Africa, and to the early



and entire breaking up of the barbarous slave trade from that continent, they discovered not the dark work-shops of the slaveholder with the sign of "Colonization" without, whilst within he was multiplying his chains, and forging fetters of adamant strength for everlasting use. And shall we visit such men, albeit they were led to be the advocates of much error and the partakers of much wrong, with censures that belong only to the highest guilt? Shall we judge those who acted twenty or fifteen, or even ten years ago, when the general standard of thought and feeling in relation to slavery was low throughout the world, by the existing standard which has been raised to its present elevation and purity, only by years of protracted struggle, of almost furious mental conflict? No sir, it would be rash and unkind. The judgment that would condemn as unpardonable, inexcusable, the best men of twenty years ago, for acting wrong when there was little light, denies in effect the power of Christianity for the further evolution of ennobling truth, and twenty years hence may bring into equal condemnation the best men of the present day.

After rendering this act of justice to the principles of a large number of the non-slaveholding adherents to the plan of colonization, I come now to consider its capabilities, *as a remedy for slavery*. And here, in the first place, before proceeding to the minuter and peculiar difficulties, I will advert to one, from which it is generally supposed to be exempt, but which will be found to be applicable to it as well as to every other plan of full emancipation. It is this,—that its advocates must convince the slaveholders that their system *ought* to be abandoned. This is the necessary preface, the indispensable work, preliminary to every peaceable plan for the *removal* of slavery. Why has the colonization cause gained the favor it has won from slaveholders? It is because, they have not believed it *effectual* for the object in relation to which I am now considering it? Why, on the other hand, is the doctrine of immediate emancipation repelled by them? Is it indeed, because they fear the accumulation of the social evils, that they say will flow from an act of instantaneous and general emancipation? I think not. But it is, because the doctrine is strong and effectual for its object,—because it will not stay to dispute with the slaveholder about the *rate* of compensation he shall receive for ceasing to oppress; nor about the particular age at which the oppressed shall go free; nor about the salubrity and insalubrity of a distant clime, and refuses to place the controversy on any collateral point on which honest and virtuous men may innocently differ. It is because, it attacks the slaveholder by agitating his stagnant moral nature—by arousing his soul to a sight of its danger and urging it to war against the passions that would destroy it—by striking at his conscience—by reminding him of the judgment-seat of that God whom he has offended—by beseeching him to do justice, to show mercy and feel love to the brother he has wronged; it is this, and because it gains no respite for a little more slumber, a little more sleep, and cries out *now* and not to-morrow that makes abolition feared and hated by the obdurate and impenitent

slaveholder. Let the doctrines of *Colonization* once intrude on the playground of the heart—let them trespass on errant affections—obstruct its voluptuous gambols—say to its wild and vicious revellers, stop!—let it be seen to be in earnest, and to be doing effectual work for the extermination of slavery, and it will, at once, assume a type as fanatical and incendiary as the rankest abolitionism of the most ultra school.

The colonization enterprise is more than twenty years old. Nothing under the banner of benevolence ever took the field with more favorable auspices. It levied its hosts from leaders and veterans and victors in every field. Politicians of the most antagonist views—irreconcilable as partizans, dropping their differences, rushed into this charmed circle and raised one universal and harmonious shout of encouragement and applause. The distinguished men scattered throughout our land, and entrusted with the education of our youth, our college professors, instead of sending their quota, rushed almost in masses to the standard. The Church threw wide open its party colored portals—and Arminian and Calvinist, Trinitarian and Unitarian, Baptist by immersion and Baptist by aspersion, the advocate of diocesan episcopacy and of clerical parity, the Protestant and the Catholic, all casting away for the time their sectarian armor, as one brotherhood accepted the common weapons of a common cause. The temples of the Most High flew open for her eloquent orators, secular and sacred, and the birth-day of American Independence was consecrated to receive the contributions of a people, prompt in their gratitude for the establishment of an empire here, to erect its image in a distant land.

For every taste it had its charms. Whilst the Christian was looking forward to the speedy coming of the day, when the bloody slave-ship should no more incarnadine the ocean,—when the peaceful African village should no more be seen to blaze, or night be frightened with the shrieks of matron and maid vainly escaping from the pursuit of the manhunting incendiary—when a whole continent should be seen redeemed from heathenism, and heard exulting in songs of gratitude and praise for the blessedness they enjoyed; the warrior could dwell in anticipation on the pride and pomp and circumstance of glorious war. He could behold in the prospect the “serried phalanx,” the bristling bayonets lining the coast of this rising empire for a thousand miles. And whilst the sea admiral saw the dark keels of her navies plowing the most distant seas, and striking terror into weaker nations, the merchant failed not in his visions to dream of

“ ——— Argosies with portly sail,  
Flying by him with their woven wings,  
Rich with barbaric pearl and gold.”

Now, let us examine, with all these advantages, what colonization has accomplished. Out of the whole number of slaves in this land, it has removed about four thousand—or, in twenty years, two hundred a-year. Does not this bare statement strike the mind at once with full conviction of

the impracticability of the scheme for abolishing slavery in this way? The increase here is 50,000 a-year. During the existence of the society, this population has gained a million, while the society has sent out scarcely the increase of a single month.

It is said, colonization has been opposed by the abolitionists. Why, sir, what an acknowledgment! If a scheme of benevolence, supported by the talent, the religion, and the wealth of the nation, and designed to free the land from the most intolerable evils, and the most imminent dangers, can be thwarted by a few fanatics, it shows that there must be an inherent weakness in the scheme itself, which nothing can remedy.

But suppose all opposition to be now withdrawn, the lips of abolitionists sealed, and the coals which abolition has scattered on the naked heart of this nation extinguished, and all the wounds cicatrized by the oil and wine of colonization. Now, you are prepared to undertake the work, unmolested and unhindered. What will you do? what will you do to-day—what this year? Before we shall come together again, to celebrate our anniversaries, 75,000 persons will be added to the number you have to remove. Where will you go for 75,000 to send out this year? Will you go to the politicians of the South? McDuffie, and Pickens, and Hammond, and Calhoun, tell you that slavery is the corner-stone of our political edifice, and that if you undertake to extinguish slavery, death without benefit of clergy is your only just desert. Will you apply to the churches of the South? Go, ask them for the increase of a single day, for 200, and they will reply that it was a most glorious event in history which brought the sons of Africa to this enlightened land; and that it would be flying in the face of Providence to attempt so openly to counteract the divine will, as to seek to remove them. Will you go to the officers of the Colonization Society? I have yet to learn the first instance of an individual furnished by them for removal to Africa, to make up this quota. While those who are engaged in conducting the cause refuse to aid it on, where is your hope?

“Ah! but we will buy them.” This looks as if there was something serious intended. Let us consider it. The whole of the yearly increase is 75,000. Take the estimate of a slaveholder in Congress, as to their market value, and it is \$400 each, for every man, woman, and child; that is, thirty millions of dollars, to buy the yearly increase of slaves among us. What an expense!

Then there is the expense of their removal to be provided for. Mr. Tazewell, in Congress, declared this would not be less than \$100 each; but we will reduce it to \$50. Here is a demand for four millions more. Can they make a support there, by their labor? No, sir, it is now conceded on all hands, that they must receive their sustenance at least a year, either in provisions sent from this country, or money to purchase them at a high rate on the coast of Africa. This cannot cost less than four millions more. Shall they be set on that shore with nothing but their hands? No, sir, they

must be furnished with utensils and materials for industry. These, and other incidental expenses, will make the yearly cost of the removal of only the yearly increase not less than forty millions of dollars. But when the government of the United States comes into the market, as a purchaser of slaves, with thirty millions of dollars to lay out year by year, any man who is in the least acquainted with economical calculations must see that it will raise the price indefinitely. Now, I ask any man here to say, whether a project involving such an expenditure as this is practicable? Can this nation, acting through the government of the United States, be induced to surrender all its plans of advantage—its fortifications, its harbors, its rivers, and all other projects of improvement, and absorb all its revenues in the single object of removing Americans from its soil?

But we have another form of gradualism to consider. I am frequently asked, by those who of course hate slavery as bad as I do, why the abolitionists will insist on what is impracticable? Why will they not take up those plans which have been already tried and proved successful, in removing slavery from Pennsylvania and other states at the North—the system of gradual emancipation?

To this it is a sufficient answer, in the first instance, to say that, if it is wrong to hold men in slavery, it is wrong to hold them at all. If a MAN, because he is a man, is entitled to his liberty twelve months or twelve years hence, he is entitled to it now. But I go farther. It requires but a bare consideration of the difference between the North and the South, to see that a mode which was effectual here would be wholly impracticable in our present slaveholding states. In Pennsylvania, there never was one slave to a hundred free persons: there never were four thousand slaves in the state. Now, it is a principle fully established, that where the mass of labor is performed by slaves, there is no body of people into which you can absorb the portion who may be emancipated. Pennsylvania emancipated one-tenth of her slaves in a year—say four hundred slaves, and the labor which they would have performed, was taken up by her free population. Or, if it had been abstracted entirely, it would never have been missed. But let this be done, for instance, in Louisiana, where the number of slaves is 200,000. Let one-tenth be emancipated this year. Whence is that amount of labor to be supplied? Will you say, Let them be re-employed by the planters for wages? The planters have settled it as an economical truth, in every slave state, that emancipated blacks never can be employed with their slaves. What substitute, then, have you for this amount of labor abstracted? Will you send white laborers there, to supply the deficiency? Will they—ought they, freemen, to go and labor by the side of the slaves? No, sir, it never has been, and I trust never will be done.

But, at the end of the second year, you have another tenth of the people emancipated, and another tenth of the labor withdrawn. And so on from year to year; so that this scheme of philanthropy, by the time of its accom-

plishment, will have left the whole country a desolate waste, grown up with thorns and briers. Sir, this self-destructive scheme has never been tried, and it never will be in any community, where the slaves bear any considerable proportion to the free. The only apparent exception to this assertion is in the case of Mexico. In the year 1824, a provision was made for allowing slaves to purchase their freedom at a certain rate; but after an experiment of five years, the experiment of gradualism was abandoned, and immediate and universal emancipation declared throughout the republic.

I cannot forbear adverting, for a moment, to the substitute for all these schemes—**IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION**. "What!" exclaims some one, "set them free all at once?" The very magnitude of the change astonishes many minds, and throws them into alarm. I say, Yes—all at once. Had I the power to do it in a word, I would not wait till I had finished these remarks, before I had sounded it throughout the land—**IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION—ALL AT ONCE!**

What a sight it would be to see the slave states bringing up their codes of slave laws, written (like Draco's) in blood, and making a bonfire of these terrible volumes. What a sight, to see the church leading forth their brethren whom they have so long enslaved, and kneeling down before the universe, to ask forgiveness of those they have injured, and forgiveness of God, whose law they have so long despised, and whose image they have trampled on. Would it not be more honorable to the South, than to have plundered the mails, and made their sacred contents a bonfire in their streets? O sir! what would this not do for the cause of liberty? What would it not do for the cause of religion, throughout the nations of the earth?

A few words, sir, in answer to an objection against this scheme. It is said, if the slaves are all emancipated, the free states will be overrun with them. I am not careful to answer this, because I object to our colored citizens' seeking a habitation where they choose, but because I believe the apprehension has no foundation in fact. Why should the emancipated slaves come to the North? When thrown on their own resources for support, will they not want wages, and will not the planter still want their labor to cultivate his fields and gather his crops? Here will be a common interest, as a reason why they should remain where they are, where they understand the agriculture and are inured to the climate, where their relatives live. They are likewise generally ignorant of the resources of other regions.

I have thus briefly given the outlines of the argument, to show that all schemes of gradualism are ineffectual, and that immediate emancipation is both honorable and safe, to the church, and to the nation, to all concerned. And now I ask those who have hitherto been spell-bound with these dreams, why we may not now have their aid in the only practicable scheme to secure the church from disgrace and guilt, and the nation from impending and inevitable ruin.



REV. CHARLES GARDNER, a man of color, and pastor of a Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, presented the following:—

*Resolved*, That sufficient evidence has been given to the world, to convince the enlightened public, that the immediate emancipation of the colored people is morally right, and politically safe.

Permit me, sir, (said Mr. G.) to say, that this day is to me of the highest interest. When I cast my eye over this respectable and enlightened congregation, I see that the doctrines of this resolution will be responded to by every intelligent mind. Let me take a view of what American Slavery is. It consists in this: in making men chattels; in brutalizing the image of God, the purchase of the blood of Jesus Christ; impressing its seal on childhood, and wresting from the hand of the rightful owner that exercise of the judgment for which he is accountable only to God. It denies to the slave, and in many parts of the country to the free colored people also, access to that heavenly chart, which is laid down by Jehovah as the only safe rule of faith and practice, the liberty of reading and understanding how he may serve God acceptably. It withholds from him all the proceeds of his labor, except a scanty subsistence, and two suits of clothing in a year, of the coarsest description. Is it morally right and politically safe to abolish such a system immediately?

Let us look at the evidences. They are not drawn from the days of Hannibal, nor from a period a thousand years back, nor even one hundred years since; but from to-day—from things as they are, and may be seen to be—in our own times—now.

The first evidence I will give, is that of the slaveholders themselves. They are certainly good witnesses. In their daily papers, you will see, at any time, advertisements for the sale of ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred valuable negroes, recommended and qualified in such terms as these: Jack, a good farmer; Joe, a skilful carpenter; Bob, a first-rate shoemaker; Jim, a capital blacksmith, fully guarantied; Bets, a good washerwoman; Nell, a faithful nurse; Sall, a seamstress, fully guarantied. Is not that evidence that they may be safely made free? If, under the oppressions of slavery, they can become skilful mechanics, trusty housekeepers, and safe nurses, would they be less so, if made fully free. I trow not. If they sustain so much moral worth while crowded within the small circle which slavery allows, what would they not exhibit, if placed in circumstances to develop all the powers with which they are endowed by a beneficent Creator?

In the second place, I will call your attention to the evidence from the disposition that has been manifested by those who have already obtained their freedom. It is in evidence, that those who have been slaves, and who have been liberated, by gift or will, or by their own industry, have ever manifested the strongest and tenderest affection for the family of their for-

mer masters. I was once honored with a travelling connection in the Methodist Episcopal Conference of Philadelphia, and labored in the peninsula between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays, where I had great opportunity of becoming acquainted with the disposition of the people of color. I will say, that I do not know of more ignorant people on earth, than many of the field hands on that peninsula. And I believe the mass of the whites are about as ignorant. For, once while I was travelling the Lewistown circuit, I was called to preach a sermon at the execution of two black men, one of whom had murdered his master. A short time before, the Court of Oyer had sentenced a white man to death, for murdering his wife and child, and he had been hanged. About three weeks afterwards, the court appointed for the trial of slaves sentenced these two black men to death, and the time was appointed. When we went from the prison to the gallows, only a short distance, we found such a mass of people assembled, with stands for the sale of cider, and cakes, and rum, that the sheriff could with great difficulty force a passage. And this, notwithstanding there had been a white man hanged three weeks before. Is not this evidence of the degradation of the whites? How, then, can you expect to find an enlightened community of colored people among such masters?

But I found many people of color, who had obtained their freedom, and had purchased lots, and built cabins, where they had their pigs and chickens, and seemed to be comfortable and improving. I have seen the children of their former masters come to these people and ask for something to eat, and I have seen every thing of the best in the cabin provided for them. I asked one aged woman, "Sister Judy, who was that young lady I saw here?" "Ah!" said she, "it was my old master's daughter: many a time I have been severely beaten for her sake; but, poor thing, she is very poor now, and has nothing but what her friends give her. I forgive her now, and look to God for my reward. I have no right to take vengeance, and I do the best I can for her, when she comes here, to get something good to eat." Here is the evidence. Shall such benevolence as this, when exhibited by those who have every reason to take vengeance, be passed by? Shall those who have such a spirit be kept in bondage?

A third evidence to be considered, is drawn from the general character of the people of color, including their situation, and their ability to get along in the world. Let it be remembered, that the man of color has to labor against wind and tide, to meet all the prejudices, and contend with all the proscription and opposition of the times. Notwithstanding this, I can show that the colored man is capable of making headway under all his disadvantages. Go with me to Baltimore, and in Howard-street, we will find a man of color who, seven years ago, paid \$600 for his own body and soul, and \$300 or more for his wife: now he owns nearly a block of ground, with three brick houses, two of which would rent in New-York for \$300 a piece, and the other for \$700, besides several wooden tenements. Come to Philadelphia, and there is a man named Hales, who has twice paid \$350 for himself, being cheated out of the first payment by his *humane* master. Now he has on the front of his lot a three-story house, and on the rear such buildings as rent for more than \$600 a-year.

In Philadelphia, we have fourteen respectable congregations of colored people. We own several churches that are worth from \$25,000 to \$50,000 each. The whole amount of our public property, in churches, school houses, and burial

grounds, is more than two hundred thousand dollars, the greater part paid for by ourselves. Several pay schools are supported by us. About sixty beneficial societies do much to provide for the sick and the helpless, and for the burial of the dead, paying for these objects from eight to twelve thousand dollars a-year. Not a colored person of any respectability, however poor, is buried at the expense of the poor funds in Philadelphia. In New-York, there are six or eight churches, with beneficial societies, and schools, and other useful institutions. So in other cities. It is true, we have in Philadelphia, and elsewhere, a low class of colored people, who are both degraded and vicious: but who is to blame? I live near the church in which I have the honor to officiate; and in one square there are fifteen grog-shops located, by the authority of the city; and in the immediate neighborhood there are forty-five. When *you* set the trap, is the rabbit to be blamed for being caught? The weary traveller or laborer is snared in the gins that are set by those in authority, who ought to know better. But amidst all our difficulties, the man of color advances in a surprising degree. And when the people of color are compared with other portions of the laboring class in the community, I venture to declare, that in regard to the number of the vicious and the wretched, they will not overrun the common ratio.

In the fourth place, I will notice the evidence drawn from the power of intellect exhibited by the man of color. I know our heads have been measured, to determine whether we had as much brains as blood. I know that prejudice has blinded the eyes of many who ought to have seen and acknowledged the truth. I know the popular delusion everywhere prevailing, has extended its influence even over ourselves; and that many among us have tacitly consented to admit that we were an inferior race. But I will appeal to facts. I will mention one case, and I am happy to see a reverend gentleman in the house who can attest it. There was a man who used to travel with Bishop Asbury, named Henry Hosier, who was a most extraordinary natural orator, and was admitted by the bishop to be a correct theologian. When he was preaching on the peninsula, he came to Bahama manor, in the neighborhood of Esquire Basset's, afterwards governor of Delaware, but now removed, I trust, to his heavenly rest. One Sabbath day, Esquire Basset had his church minister to dine with him, and while they were at table, his servant came in, and whispered to Mrs. Basset. The Esquire asked, "What does Joe want?" Mrs. B. replied, "He wants to go and hear a colored man preach." He turned to the clergyman, and said, "A colored man preach! Did you ever hear of a nigger's preaching? Let us go." So he told the man to bring up the carriage, and they would go and hear Joe's preacher. When they came to the place, which was in the woods a few miles distant, Esquire Basset rolled a log near to the stump where the preacher stood, and they sat down to hear. The old gentleman stood up, and took his text. Doubtless, he was abashed at seeing all the masters in the neighborhood. But he preached his sermon. After he was through, Esquire Basset took him by the hand, and asked him, "Where were you educated?" "I have no education, sir." "Can you not read?" "No, sir, I know only one letter in the book, and that is O." "Well," said he, "I have been to colleges and seminaries, and if I were to be hung for it, I could not preach such a sermon as that." But this is not the whole. Conviction seized upon his soul, under the preaching of that sermon, and he became a Christian, and lived a faithful member of the Methodist Episcopal church,

and died in the full assurance of a glorious immortality. Now, bring me a white man, that don't know a letter in the book but O, who can preach a systematic gospel sermon, and be pronounced by an intelligent congregation a correct theologian.

We have among us a number of men, who know but little about reading, but yet are able preachers of the gospel. Last Sabbath, I had the pleasure of inviting to our pulpit a preacher named Shadrach Green, of Kentucky, a man 26 or 27 years of age—a slave. His humane master had sold his soul and body to himself for a thousand dollars. In preaching, he took for his text the words, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God." He commenced with a description of the excellent gifts of God in prophecy. Secondly, the exact fulfilment of prophecy, in the coming, life, and death of Jesus Christ. Then he laid open the sufferings of Christ, and showed the goodness of God in giving forth the influences of his Spirit on the hearts of sinners. And he crowned the whole with a declaration of the manner in which God had visited his own soul. "Behold, said he, "what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God." Now, that man could scarcely read a chapter in the book. Was there no natural talent here—no moral power—no material to work upon—no foundation for a superstructure of cultivation, that would have shone with brilliancy? And, thanks be to God, he was not a mulatto, neither, but a black man. There are some people foolish enough to think a few drops of white blood in our veins will impart more gifts and powers than a black man can exhibit.

These are but a few of the statements of facts which I might make. But, surely, in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word shall be established. Here let me say, that no small sagacity has been evinced by the people of color, in their course respecting the great contest now going on in this nation. We have always had our own views on this subject. We view slavery to be like the carnal mind, which is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. And therefore it must be abolished, and not ameliorated. There is no such thing as ameliorating slavery. You might as well talk of having the love of God in a carnal mind.

William Lloyd Garrison has been branded as the individual who turned the people of color against the colonization scheme. But I can tell you, sir, that when William Lloyd Garrison was a schoolboy, the people of color in different parts of the country were holding extensive meetings, which always agreed in declaring that they regarded the scheme as visionary in itself, and calculated only to rivet the chains of those who remain in slavery. I had the pleasure of hearing the Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Virginia, declare frankly that the Colonization Society never would be able to accomplish their objects. The Hon. William S. Archer told me the same in conversation. How far it may act beneficially, in abolishing the slave-trade, or in planting benevolence and civilization in Africa, I leave for time to disclose. But these facts show, that as to its bearings on ourselves, the people of color were not asleep. Long before William Lloyd Garrison was a man, we had fixed our *veto* on it. From its very commencement, we had washed our hands of all connection with it.

It is said by the pro-slavery party, that the people of color, so far as they are informed on the subject, are opposed to the principles and measures of the aboli-

tionists. Sir, I deny it. I know I speak the language of every intelligent man of color in the United States, that has had the opportunity of understanding the subject, when I say that we do approve of the benevolent scheme of immediate emancipation. There may be some at the South, who are respectable and intelligent, but who are not allowed to read for themselves the truth of the matter, because it is considered treason for a colored man to read, and treason to receive or give a book or a paper; and some of these may disapprove of the abolition principles, because they do not understand them. But with this exception, we approve of them to a man, and are ready to stand by our friends, and to hold up the hands of our Moseses and our Aarons, and give them our best wishes, our sincere prayers, and all the pecuniary aid our circumstances admit.

I have another evidence to offer, in support of this resolution; and that is from the law of God. When God gave his law to Moses, he said to him, "Come up hither." And the mountain shook, and the lightning flashed, and the thunders rolled, and the clouds appeared, portending that God was about to give law to men. And what is that law? He enjoins this precept, "Lay up these my words in your heart, and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates." See, then, the wickedness of those laws which go contrary to the law of God, and say to the slave, "You shall not read these Scriptures, nor understand them, nor teach them to your children, nor obey them." Is it not morally right, and politically safe, to abolish such a system?

I say, then, that immediate abolition is both morally right and politically safe. Is it not right and safe to let men go free, who are proved capable of being governed by the laws of God? If all the moral worth and influence that has been lost to the world through American slavery, could be condensed into real matter, and placed in the scale, with the Atlas mountains in the opposite, the mountain scale would kick the beam, as though it were a feather's weight. Such is the withering influence of American slavery on the man of color.

And now, sir, considering the proscription we labor under, would it be a wonder if we were all a debased set of wretches, involved in the greatest vice and misery that can be expressed? We ought to be better than we are—that is clear. But would it be a wonder if we were a thousand times worse?

Seeing, then, that under all our disadvantages and provocations, we have given evidence of a benevolent and peaceful disposition—that we have never been turbulent citizens—that there has been no simultaneous movements for insurrection—and that we have given the clearest proofs of our loyalty—is it not morally right that we should enjoy the same privileges with other citizens? Is it not politically safe that the people of color should be free?

Rev. ORANGE SCOTT, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Lowell, Mass., offered two resolutions, which he said were so excellent as to require but a few words in their support :

*Resolved*,—That the doctrines and precepts of our holy religion<sup>a</sup> abundantly sustain our national declaration, that all men are created equal, that they are



endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and therefore *the condemnation of American slavery* is equally demanded by our professions as republicans and as Christians.

*Resolved*,—That slavery as it exists in this country, is a violation of that section of the United States' Constitution, which provides that, "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," and hence that system ought to cease and be discontinued, *instantly and forever*.

In support of this resolution, Mr. S. went into a very ingenious and satisfactory argument, to show that the Declaration of Independence spoke the true sentiments of the country; and that the Constitution of the United States, so far from guaranteeing slavery, is and was designed to be wholly incompatible with its perpetuity.—Are all men, said he, *born equal*, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, which cannot be constitutionally taken from them but by due process of law? And are fifty or sixty thousand persons born every year on American soil, under this Constitution, enslaved as soon as they are born, by the laws of the several states? Can such laws be constitutional? Suppose Massachusetts or New York, should pass laws, giving to the strong the right to take away from the weak their rights of property, their purse or their person, at pleasure, would that be a process of law? Such a law is as unconstitutional at the South, as at the North. The Constitution says nothing about color, but that *no man* shall be deprived, &c.

It is said by some that slaves are not persons, but things. If we grant that for a moment, then I ask again, where in the Constitution will you find the guaranty for slavery? The Constitution says nothing about slaves or slavery; and if its provisions refer at all to slavery, it is under the term *persons*.

C. C. BURLEIGH, an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, offered the following resolution,

*Resolved*,—That we value highly and feel greatly cheered and strengthened in our work by the warm expressions of Christian sympathy, and by the faithful remonstrances which have been addressed by British Christians to the abolitionists and the people of these United States in regard to the great sin of our nation, and that we most earnestly entreat them to persevere in their "work of faith and labor of love, and patience of hope" in respect to this subject, assuring them that their labor is not in vain in the Lord.

After an animated speech from Mr. B. the public exercises were closed by singing the hymn,

"From all that dwell below the skies."

As the congregation were retiring, Mr. Lewis Tappan announced that a book was open at the Anti-Slavery office, 143 Nassau-street, in which all who had been converted this day to abolition principles, were invited to enroll their names, under that of EDWARD C. DELEVAN, who had this morning, for the first time inscribed his name in the ranks of abolition.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, HELD IN THE LECTURE  
ROOM OF THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE, IN THE CITY  
OF NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MAY 9TH, 1837.

On Tuesday, at 4 o'clock, the Society met for the transaction of business. In the absence of the President, GERRIT SMITH, one of the Vice-Presidents took the chair, JAMES S. GIBBONS, and OLIVER JOHNSON, were appointed Assistant Secretaries, pro tem. Prayer was offered by CHARLES STUART.

The following persons then enrolled their names as delegates.

# ROLL OF DELEGATES.

## MAINE.

*State Society*.—Stephen Thurston, Eliphalet W. Jackson, Luke Hill, William A. Keith.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*State Society*.—Not represented.

*Dartmouth College*.—Archibald Berry.

## VERMONT.

*State Society*.—Chauncey L. Knapp, Hon. Charles Phelps, James Ballard.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

*State Society*.—Francis Jackson, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Isaac Winslow, Amos Farnsworth, Amasa Walker, Oliver Johnson, John E. Fuller, John G. Whittier, E. Goodman, Charles Fitch, Orange Scott, Nathaniel Southard.

*Peru A.S. Society*.—Amasa Fussell.

*Bristol County Society*.—Otis Thompson, Charles Simmons.

*Worcester County Society*.—Charles Hadwin.

*Amherst Society*.—Charles H. Cragin, Samuel H. Shipley.

## RHODE ISLAND.

*State Society*.—Joseph Sisson, Jr. Charles P. Grosvenor, William Buffum, Jr.

*Pawtucket Society*.—Daniel Mitchell, Robert Adams.

## CONNECTICUT.

*Fairfield County Society*.—John Turney.

*Middletown Society*.—Jehiel C. Beman, Charles K. True.

*Hartford Society*.—S. B. Morley.

*Windham County Society*.—Charles C. Burleigh, Wm. H. Burleigh.

## NEW YORK.

*State Society*.—Beriah Green, Alvan Stewart, William Goodell, J. Campbell.

## COUNTY SOCIETIES.

*Monroe*.—Conway P. Wing, A. Ingersoll.

*Genessee*.—Henry Brewster, Solomon Stevens.

*Tompkins*.—Benjamin S. Halsey.

*Onondaga*.—James Canning Fuller.

*Alegany*.—Ashbel Otis.

*Niagara*.—Herman Halsey.

*Delaware*.—Payette Shipherd.

*West Chester*.—Henry White, Wm. A. Hyde.

#### LOCAL SOCIETIES.

*New York City*.—Lemuel Clark, J. H. Martyn, T. S. Wright, Lewis Tappan, Duncan Dunbar, Abraham L. Cox.

*N. Y. City Young Men's*.—Roe Lockwood, Charles B. Ray, Wm. P. Johnson, James H. Parker, James S. Gibbons, Isaac M. Diamond, Cleveland Cox.

*N. Y. United Society*.—John Annin, Philip A. Bell, Thomas Van Ranslaer, Henry Graves, James Fields.

*N. Y. Roger Williams Society*.—J. F. Raymond, J. M. Horner.

*Albany*.—Robert C. Brisbin.

*Poughkeepsie*.—Nathan Blount.

*Troy*.—William Yates, Philander Barbour.

*Schenectady*.—Richard P. G. Wright.

*Utica*.—George Storrs, W. C. Rogers, Samuel H. Addington.

*Whitestown*.—Charles Stuart, William A. Savage, Ira Pettibone.

*Oneida Institute*.—Charles C. Foot, Henry H. Garnet.

*Auburn Theological Seminary*.—Ebenezer W. Robinson.

*Union Village*.—Lewis Kellogg.

*Palmyra*.—G. R. H. Shumway.

*Stephentown*.—A. Underwood.

*Richmond*.—Evelyn Pierce, Anson Arnold.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

*State Society*.—Robert Purvis, Nathaniel Stern, Samuel Williams.

#### COUNTY SOCIETIES.

*City and County of Philadelphia*.—R. Douglas, Jr., Arnold Buffum, E. M. Davis, Robert Biddle, J. C. Bowers, Peter Wright, Charles W. Gardner, Daniel Neal, George M. Alsop, James Prosser, Benjamin S. Jones.

*Chester*.—Eli Hambleton.

*Wayne*.—Alfred Ketcham.

#### NEW JERSEY.

*Boonton*.—James B. Grimes, Marcus Evarts.

*Newark Juvenile*.—Jesse Randell, Andrew L. Holbrook.

*Newark*.—John A. King, William R. Weeks.

#### OHIO.

*State Society*.—James G. Birney, John T. Pierce, Samuel Steel, Wm. Keys, M. S. McGrath.

*Trumbull County*.—Daniel H. Babcock.

*Preble County*.—Hugh Johnson.

*Cleveland*.—Harmón Kingsbury.

#### WISCONSIN TERRITORY.

Samuel F. Phoenix.

## ATTENDING AS MEMBERS.

## NEW-YORK.

*New-York City*.—Samuel E. Cornish, Thomas Downing, John Blain, G. Bourne, Thomas Pitts, Asa Parker, H. D. Sharpe, Hiram Barney, William T. Coolidge.

*New-York County*.—Charles J. Knowles, Suffolk; Cyrus Pitts, Richmond.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Henry B. Stanton, Samuel L. Gould, Thomas Gould, Charles V. Caples, Boston; E. D. Moore, Natick; William L. Chaplin, Groton; Enoch Peabody, Reading; Erastus Dickinson, Canton; Amos Dresser, Berkshire County.

## CONNECTICUT.

Hosca Easton, Amos G. Beman, Hartford; W. H. Mabbs, Middletown; Wm. A. Houghton, Yale College.

## NEW JERSEY.

A. R. Speer, New Brunswick.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Stephen H. Gloucester, Philadelphia; William Morrells, Philadelphia County; Charles Smith, Buckingham.

## UPPER CANADA.

Hiram Wilson.

On motion, it was then voted to amend the 5th Article of the Constitution of the Society, by striking out the words, "a Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, a Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, a Recording Secretary," and inserting the words, "a Recording Secretary, and Corresponding Secretaries."

At a subsequent meeting, it was also voted to amend the 6th article of the Constitution, by inserting after the word "body," 4th line, "and of the office of Secretary or Treasurer."

Committees were then appointed, consisting of one from each State represented, to nominate officers for the ensuing year, and to prepare business for the *subsequent* meetings.

At this stage of the proceedings, J. BLANCHARD, an agent of the society, communicated some interesting and valuable information relative to the recent Pro-Slavery Convention, at Harrisburgh, and submitted two resolutions in regard to its proceedings, which after some interesting discussion were referred to a committee, consisting of Nathan Stem, William Goodell, J. G. Birney, Alvan Stewart, and Otis Thompson.

The committee to nominate officers, made the following report, which was unanimously adopted.

**PRESIDENT.**

ARTHUR TAPPAN, OF NEW-YORK.

**VICE-PRESIDENTS.**

SAMUEL FESSENDEN, Maine.

GEORGE KENT, New Hampshire.

ROWLAND T. ROBINSON, Vermont.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Massachusetts.

JOSIAH CADY, Rhode Island.

ELI IVES, Connecticut.

GERRIT SMITH, New York.

WILLIAM R. WEEKS, New Jersey.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, Pennsylvania.

SAMUEL SMITH, Delaware.

JOHN NEEDLES, Maryland.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, Ohio.

NATHANIEL FIELD, Indiana.

DAVID NELSON, Illinois.

ROBERT STUART, Michigan.

SAMUEL F. PHOENIX, Wisconsin.

WILLIAM JAY, }  
ELIZUR WRIGHT, } *Corresponding Secretaries.*A. A. PHELPS, *Recording Secretary.*JOHN RANKIN, *Treasurer.***MANAGERS.****MAINE.**SWAN L. POMROY,  
DAVID THURSTON,  
CALVIN NEWTON,  
NATHAN WINSLOW,  
SAMUEL M. POND.**NEW HAMPSHIRE.**DAVID ROOT,  
N. P. ROGERS,  
DANIEL HOIT,  
CALVIN CUTLER,  
JOHN FARMER.**VERMONT.**HARVEY F. LEAVITT,  
KIAH BAILEY,  
DAVID M. CAMP,  
C. L. KNAPP,  
O. S. MURRAY.**MASSACHUSETTS.**WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,  
SAMUEL OSGOOD,  
JOHN G. WHITTIER,  
SAMUEL J. MAY,  
ELLIS GRAY LORING,  
AMASA WALKER,  
AMOS FARNSWORTH.**RHODE ISLAND.**JAMES FAMES,  
HENRY CUSHING,  
WILLIAM ADAMS,  
JOHN G. CLARK,  
WILLIAM BUFFUM.**CONNECTICUT.**MELVIN COPELAND,  
GEORGE W. BENSON,  
HORACE COWLES,  
JEHIEL C. BEMAN,  
LEICESTER A. SAWYER.**NEW-YORK.**BERIAH GREEN,  
ALVAN STEWART,  
WILLIAM GOODSELL,  
HENRY BREWSTER,  
R. P. G. WRIGHT,  
CHARLES MARRIOTT,  
ELON GALUSHA,  
DANIEL FROST,  
GEORGE BOURNE,  
EDWARD C. DELEVAN.



## NEW JERSEY.

GEORGE W. ESTON,  
JAMES KANOUSE,  
JAMES COOK,  
JAMES PARKHURST,  
JAMES WHITE.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

BENJAMIN LUNDY,  
JAMES FORTEN, SEN.  
THOMAS WHITSON,  
PETER WRIGHT,  
ROBERT PURVIS,  
F. J. LE MOYNE,  
WILLIAM A. ADAIR,  
J. P. GAZZAM,  
LINDLEY COATES,  
NATHAN STEM.

## OHIO.

JOHN RANKIN,  
ROBERT STEWART.  
LEICESTER KING,  
JAMES C. LUDLOW,  
ASA DRURY,  
JOHN M. STERLING,  
ASA MAHAN,

BENJAMIN STANTON,  
WILLIAM W. BANCROFT,  
GEORGE CAREY.

## INDIANA.

LUKE MUNSELL,  
JOHN SAILER,  
WILLIAM TWINING.

## ILLINOIS.

JAMES M. BUCHANAN,  
WILLIAM SIEWART,  
ASA TURNER,  
GEORGE W. GALE,  
GEORGE KIMBALL.

## DELAWARE.

CHARLES W. DENISON,  
JONATHAN JENNINGS,

## MICHIGAN.

J. P. CLEVELAND,  
ARTHUR L. PORTER,  
WILLIAM KIRKLAND,  
HERBERT WILLIAMS,  
JAMES B. WHITCOMB.

## WISCONSIN.

D. S. HOLLISTER.

On motion,

*Resolved*,—That a committee be appointed to inquire how far the present commercial distress of the country is to be attributed to the existence of the system of Slavery.

The following persons were appointed as the committee, viz.: E. Wright, Jr., Wm. Goodell, Lewis Tappan, Alvan Stewart, James G. Birney, Amasa Walker, H. C. Wright, Peter Wright.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 10.

In the absence of the President, GERRIT SMITH, Esq., took the chair, and Rev. O. WETMORE, of Utica, opened the meeting with prayer.

The Committee on Business, reported a plan to secure harmony and efficiency in the operation of the parent and state societies; in their relation to each other, which after discussion and amendment was adopted as follows:

1. Each State society to have its depository, to be supported by it, or in such

other way as the friends of the cause may determine, and located according to its discretion.

2. Each state to have at least one general agent, appointed by it, and if the State society shall not receive sufficient funds for his support, the deficiency shall be made up by the Parent Society, out of any money received from that state.

3. At the annual meeting in New-York, a sum to be pledged on behalf of each state auxiliary to the Parent Society, and if county or local societies, or individuals, pledge or contribute, then or subsequently, to the Parent Society, the pledges or contributions to be considered as going to redeem the pledge made by the state auxiliary in which they are located; and the treasurer of the Parent Society is hereby directed, to place all monies received from societies or individuals in said state, to the credit of the state pledge, till such pledge is redeemed.

WEDNESDAY, 3 o'clock, P. M.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair.

On motion, JAMES S. GIBBONS and JOHN E. FULLER were appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer and Publishing Agent.

Pledges were then given by the delegations from the respective states, amounting to \$47,000.

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to every Anti-Slavery Society to hold a meeting on the 4th of July or 1st day of August next, to make pledges and give donations for the benefit of this cause, and that the same be remitted to the State or Parent Societies, and that it is hoped, the poorest brother and sister may give one dollar each, and that brethren and sisters of greater pecuniary ability may measure themselves and give by this standard—it is also hoped addresses may be made on these occasions having the necessities of the cause for the main object.

*Resolved*, That the failure of the recent Pro-Slavery Convention, got up with great effort, in Harrisburgh, on the 1st of May inst., furnishes new occasion of gratitude to God, and fresh proof that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with Him.

*Resolved*, That the bold, independent, and successful stand taken in favor of the "Integrity of the Union," and against slavery in that Convention, by THADDEUS STEVENS, Esq., justly entitles him to the thanks of every lover of freedom.

THURSDAY MORNING, May 11.

PETER WRIGHT, of Philadelphia, in the chair. Prayer by REV. HENRY GREW.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr., from the Committee of Business, presented the following resolution, which was adopted :

*Resolved*, That the refusal of the government of the United States to recognize the independence of the long established and well sustained government of Hayti, in contradiction of our publicly announced principles of international policy, and to the inconvenience of a commerce, more valuable than that with many nations, at whose courts we maintain expensive missions, betrays a subserviency of our national policy to the will of slaveholders, which is highly disgraceful to our national character, and calls upon us as citizens of a free country, to memorialize Congress, to recognize the national independence of Hayti, and place our relations with it on the same footing of equality and courtesy as with other nations.

J. G. WHITTIER presented two resolutions on the subject

of political action, which after considerable discussion, were referred to the following committee, viz.: Orange Scott, W. L. Garrison, J. G. Whittier, and H. B. Stanton.

On motion of WM. GOODELL,

*Resolved*, That if the Congress of the United States had the power to establish slavery in the District of Columbia, it has of course, the power to *abolish* it; so that the pretence that Congress cannot abolish slavery is equivalent to an admission that slavery in the District of Columbia exists illegally; and therefore in either case, it ought instantly to cease.

*Resolved*, That the history of the last two years, has abundantly proved that the people have no security for their own right of petition, for freedom of debate in their House of Representatives, or for the security of their own persons and representatives, so long as slavery exists in the District; and therefore the people of the United States in addition to their solemn obligations to their oppressed brethren, are called upon, by a regard to their own inalienable rights as men and as citizens to pour in their petitions to Congress, year after year, until the seat of the national government shall become the habitation of freemen.

On motion of REV. S. S. JOCELYN,

*Resolved*, That we hail the "Colored American" published in this city, and edited by our brother Samuel E. Cornish, with peculiar satisfaction, and recommend its support to our colored brethren and to the public generally, as well adapted to elevate and improve colored Americans, to correct public prejudice, and to advance the sacred cause of immediate emancipation.

W. L. GARRISON, from the committee on Political Action, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, As the sense of this Society, that while abolitionists ought neither to organize a distinct political party, nor as abolitionists to attach themselves to any existing party, the people of all parties are solemnly bound, by the principles of our civil and religious institutions, to refuse to support any man for office, who will not sustain the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of petition and the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and the territories, and who will not oppose the introduction of any new slave-state into the Union.

CHARLES STUART introduced a resolution in relation to the use of slave-labor products, which after considerable discussion, was laid upon the table, and subsequently, indefinitely postponed.

On motion of JOHN E. FULLER,

*Resolved*, That this Society recommend the formation of Juvenile Anti-Slavery Societies in all our cities and towns, to the end that the rising generation may be instructed on the subject of human rights, and made to understand the true principles of civil and religious liberty; and that the members of such societies be invited to contribute each one cent a week to the cause.

On motion of JEHIEL C. BEMAN,

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Anti-Slavery Societies in every town to secure the appointment of committees to investigate the moral and civil condition of the colored people in their vicinity, and to ascertain their advantages for education and business, with a view to encourage their improvement in these respects, and to remove any embarrassments under which they labor.

THURSDAY, 3 o'clock, P. M.

JAMES G. BIRNEY in the chair.

A letter was received from Emmor Kimber, of Kimber-  
ton, Pa., proposing that the circumstances of the late out-  
rage on John Hopper, of this city, while in Savannah, Geor-  
gia, be represented to the chief magistrate of the nation.  
Whereupon, on motion of J. G. WHITTIER,

*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to represent the same to the Governor of this state, and request him to communicate them to the President of the United States.

Wm. Jay, Gerrit Smith, and Henry Brewster, were ap-  
pointed the committee.

On motion of C. STUART,

*Resolved*, That as the great dependance of every righteous effort is upon God, and as prayer is the appointed medium of his blessing, fervent and persevering prayer be recommended to all the friends of God and man, on behalf of immediate and thorough emancipation.

On motion of H. B. STANTON,

*Resolved*, That this society earnestly recommend to auxiliary societies, and individual abolitionists, to take measures for the circulation of the Anti-Slavery Almanac, so that it may, if possible, be placed in every family in the land.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON introduced the following,  
which were adopted:—

Whereas, The invasion and revolution of Texas by a portion of the people of this country, contrary to the faith of treaties, and without any cause founded in reason, justice, or necessity; but obviously with the horrible design to introduce slavery and the slave trade upon a territory from which those abominations have been swept away by the Mexican government.

And whereas, this base and treacherous conduct has been winked at by our government, in a manner clearly evincive of sympathy and approval, and which deserves the severest condemnation of the civilized world.

And whereas, the independence of Texas has been recognized by the Congress and government of the United States with indecent haste, and under circumstances pregnant with perilous consequences to our country:

And whereas, it is the avowed determination, on the part of Texas and the slaveholding states, to obtain the annexation of Texas to the American Union, at the next session of Congress, in order to secure the protection of the American government;

And whereas, such an annexation would manifestly tend to a dissolution of the Union—to the moral and political degradation and enslavement of the people of the free states—to the perpetuity of the system of slavery—and to a fearful augmentation of the horrors of the foreign and domestic slave trade: Therefore,

*Resolved*, That it is the solemn duty of every minister of the gospel—of all religious denominations—of all political parties—of every state legislature—of the senators and representatives in Congress—and especially of the people of the non-slaveholding states—to lift up their voices, in solemn and earnest remonstrance, unitedly, and to use all the means and influences in their power, against the admission of Texas into the American Union, with the curse and contagion of slavery upon its blood-stained soul.

*Resolved*, That every Synod, Conference, Presbytery, Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly Meeting, Association, or General Assembly, which may convene before the next session of Congress, be earnestly entreated to prepare a remonstrance to that body, in opposition to such annexation, in case application be made by the Texian government.

*Resolved*, That it is of vital importance immediately to agitate this great question throughout the land, in every suitable manner; that it ought to claim the special attention and be made a prominent topic of anti-slavery agents and newspapers during the present year; and that every man and every woman, who can write or make their mark, ought to affix their names to petitions, beseeching Congress promptly to refuse any application which may be made to it, on the part of Texas, for its incorporation into our already sufficiently extended country.

THURSDAY EVENING, 8 o'clock.

JAMES G. BIRNEY in the chair.

On motion of GEORGE BOURNE, after several amendments and considerable discussion, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, Since the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, we have witnessed with surprise and sorrow that many of the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States, in various degrees and different forms, have either sanctioned, palliated, or justified the iniquitous system of slavery: and whereas, those ecclesiastical bodies, or many of the ministers of which they are composed, without receiving censure, have exhibited the temerity to pervert the Holy Scriptures into an approval of that unrighteousness which they condemn; and whereas, it is the sacred duty of the American Anti-Slavery Society to record their testimony against all measures of such a character: Therefore, *Resolved*,

1. That the American Anti-Slavery Society do declare their unfeigned abhorrence of that profanation of the Holy Scriptures, by which they are distorted into a defence of slavery, with its inseparable abominations.

2. *Resolved*, That all acts or decisions of every ecclesiastical body, by whatever name and of whatever denomination, in support of slavery, which is diametrically opposed to the Gospel of Christ, should be resolutely and constantly disobeyed.

3. *Resolved*, That the American Anti-Slavery Society do urgently recommend to all their auxiliaries, and to the members of them, and to all other friends of immediate emancipation, who believe that slavery is only one incurable mass of unrighteousness and cruelty, always loudly to protest against all the unchristian acts of pro-slavery ecclesiastical bodies.

The following preamble and resolutions were introduced by JAMES C. FULLER, and after discussion and amendment, unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, at a large public meeting of the merchants of New-York, a committee, recently returned from a visit to the executive of the United States, on the subject of the present pecuniary pressure, made a report, containing the following paragraph, the aim and tendency of which are not to be mistaken: "Appeal to our brethren of the South, and promise them, that those who believe that the possession of property is an evidence of merit, will be the last to interfere with the rights of property of any kind—discourage every effort to awaken an excitement, the bare idea of which should make every father and husband shudder with horror," &c.; Therefore,

*Resolved*, That this shameful "promise" to sacrifice honor and independence, the rights of conscience and of free discussion, the great and sacred

interests of humanity and eternal right, upon the altar of Southern despotism, is an act of unparalleled meanness, deserving alike the reprobation of Northern freemen, and the contempt of slaveholders.

*Resolved*, That while the North, especially its great commercial metropolis, is now under extreme suffering, in consequence of the evils brought upon the nation, by the extravagant speculations growing out of and constituting a part of the slaveholding economy, it is a matter of profound astonishment, that a portion of the suffering community should "promise" further support to a system fraught with so many dangers to themselves and their common country.

#### FRIDAY MORNING.

JAMES C. FULLER in the chair.

On motion of JOHN G. WHITTIER,

*Resolved*, That the upright and manly course of John Quincy Adams in the Congress of the United States, in defence of the periled right of petition—the right of the black man as well as of the white man—of the slave as well as the freeman—to offer his prayers, petitions, and remonstrances to the government under which he lives, merits the approbation of every advocate of the rights of man.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, CHARLES FOLLEN, and JOHN G. WHITTIER were appointed a Committee to communicate to Mr. ADAMS the above resolution.

On motion of HENRY GREW,

*Resolved*, That the immutable harmony of truth requires, in order to the speedy and permanent attainment of our noble object, that we carry out its holy principles, in all their legitimate consequences, in our practice.

On motion of WILLIAM YATES,

*Resolved*, That this society, impressed with the great value of the co-operation of our colored brethren, in all its efforts for the emancipation of the enslaved, would allude, with peculiar satisfaction, to the spirit of improvement and inquiry generally manifested among them, and especially to the laudable and persevering efforts made in many places to sustain the institutions of the gospel, to maintain schools for the education of themselves and their children, and to help their poor.

*Resolved*, That this society cherishes, with warm regard, that branch of its operations which embraces direct efforts for the improvement of the free people of color, and suggests to the executive committee the propriety of increasing the number of agents devoted to this department.

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee, to institute an examination into the laws of the several free states, in order to ascertain, and present at one view, *all* the legal disabilities and inequalities wherein the rights, privileges, or burdens of colored citizens differ from those of white citizens.

On motion of A. A. PHELPS,

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee, to call the next annual meeting of the society for the transaction of business, on Wednesday of the week previous to the public anniversary.

On motion of WILLIAM GOODELL,

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee, to call a

National Anti-Slavery Convention, at some place which they may designate, in the Autumn of every year, at which all the state, county, and local societies shall be urgently requested to send delegates, and in which all the friends of immediate emancipation may be cordially invited to participate, for the purpose of discussing important subjects connected with our enterprise, and devising the best methods of carrying it forward to its speedy and triumphant consummation.

On motion of **WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,**

*Resolved,*—That the managers of each of the several State Anti-Slavery Societies be strongly urged, to appoint, in each congressional district in the state, a delegation to wait upon, or a committee to correspond with, the member of Congress representing that district, before the next session of Congress, and to entreat him, by the highest religious and political considerations, to record his vote and exert his influence, in opposition to any application which may be made to Congress, for the admission of Texas, or any other slaveholding territory into the Union.

*Resolved,*—That a committee be appointed by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to proceed to Washington, at the next session of Congress, to urge upon the members of that body, the duty of protesting against the admission of Texas, or any other slave territory, into the Union.

On motion of **H. B. STANTON,**

*Resolved,*—That it is earnestly requested of the secretary of each county Anti-Slavery Society in the Union, to forward by mail, immediately, to Elizur Wright, Jr. in the city of New York, the name of one or more suitable persons, in each town of said county, with their post-office address, to circulate Anti-Slavery petitions for signatures.

On motion of **C. C. BURLEIGH,**

*Resolved,*—That this society recommend to its state auxiliaries, to request the County Societies, within their respective limits, to take such measures, so far as shall be found expedient, as will bring together all the signatures to Anti-Slavery petitions to Congress, to be embodied in one petition from each county.

On motion of **CHARLES STUART,**

*Resolved,*—That this society regards, as one of the most cheering signs of the times, the assembling of the convention of American women, now in session in this city, to adopt measures, and mingle their prayers and sympathies with ours, for the redemption of our suffering brethren and sisters from slavery.

On motion of **WILLIAM YATES,**

*Resolved,*—That the relation subsisting between this society and the free people of color, as co-workers in the cause of human rights and equal laws, is such, that for the promotion of the same, it is desirable, that the society be put in possession of the greatest facilities, for holding communication with these our brethren, and that therefore suitable measures be taken, by the proper committee or agency, to obtain the names of moral, intelligent, and leading individuals among them, in all the towns and cities of the Union and Canada, where any considerable number reside, and to enter them in a book, kept for the purpose, and also to obtain other useful facts and statistics; and that the secretaries of all auxiliary societies and all friends of the cause be requested to aid in obtaining the same.

After prayer and benediction, by **REV. O. WETMORE,** of Utica, the society adjourned.

Attest,

**A. A. PHELPS, REC. SEC'RY.**

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, May 11th, William Lloyd Garrison, Chairman, and John G. Whittier, Secretary, the following gentlemen were elected as the Executive Committee of the society for the ensuing year.

ARTHUR TAPPAN,

LEWIS TAPPAN,

JOHN RANKIN,

S. S. JOCELYN,

S. E. CORNISH,

LA ROY SUNDERLAND,

CHARLES FOLLEN,

THEODORE S. WRIGHT,

DUNCAN DUNBAR,

JOSHUA LEAVITT,

E. WRIGHT, JR.

A. A. PHELPS,

Attest,

J. G. WHITTIER, Secretary.



## PUBLISHING AGENT'S REPORT.

### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH THE PUBLISHING AGENT.

Dr.			
To Cash paid for Paper and Printing	Emancipator	- - -	\$3937 69
" " "	Human Rights,	- - -	1319 28
" " "	Record,	- - -	1163 67
" " "	Quarterly Magazine,	- - -	1383 83
" " "	Slave's Friend,	- - -	1081 84
" " "	Circulars, Petitions, and Prints,	- - -	248 83
" " "	Books and Pamphlets Published,	- - -	1947 02
" " "	" " Purchased,	- - -	2256 31
" " "	Stationery, Fuel, Lights, Freights, Cart-	age, and other incidentals, - - - }	432 79
" " "	Assistance in Office,		1229 99
" " "	Postages,	- - -	307 07
" " "	Office Rent	- - -	565 00
" " "	Distributing Papers in City,	- - -	36 75
" " "	Sundry Small Bills,	- - -	213 92
" " "	Envelope Paper,	- - -	53 50
" " "	Carpenter's Work and Boxes,	- - -	292 07
" " "	To Treasurer,	- - -	569 88
Balance due American A. S. Society,	- - -	- - -	109 16
			\$17,148 60

Cr.			
By Balance on hand, May 9th, 1836,	- - -	- - -	\$145 10
Cash received for the Emancipator,	- - -	- - -	3336 60
" " Human Rights,	- - -	- - -	779 88
" " A. S. Record,	- - -	- - -	235 75
" " Quarterly Magazine,	- - -	- - -	596 33
" " Books and Pamphlets,	- - -	- - -	4259 30
" " On Quarterly Subscriptions,	- - -	- - -	601 72
" " From Treasurer,	- - -	- - -	7193 92
			\$17,148 60

R. G. WILLIAMS, *Publishing Agent.*

AUDITORS' CERTIFICATE.—We hereby certify, that we have examined the books and vouchers of the Publishing Agent for the past year, and find the same correct, leaving a balance due from him of \$109 16.

JAMES S. GIBBONS, }  
JOHN E. FULLER, } *Auditors.*

NEW-YORK, MAY 9TH, 1837.

# TREASURER'S REPORT.

*Received from May 10, 1836, to May 9, 1837.*

## CONTRIBUTIONS.

From City of New-York,	- - - - -	\$7532 29	
" Other parts of the State of New-York,	- - - - -	7759 98	
			\$15,292 27
" Boston,	- - - - -	686 09	
" Other parts of the State of Massachusetts,	- - - - -	6738 41	7,424 50
" Philadelphia,	- - - - -	272 00	
" Other parts of the State of Pennsylvania,	- - - - -	868 84	
			1,140 84
" Connecticut,	- - - - -		972 85
" New Hampshire,	- - - - -		848 79
" Vermont,	- - - - -		679 33
" Maine,	- - - - -		558 86
" Ohio,	- - - - -		525 67
" Rhode Island,	- - - - -		501 71
" New Jersey,	- - - - -		246 94
" Michigan,	- - - - -		101 00
" Wisconsin Territory,	- - - - -		25 00
" Kentucky,	- - - - -		5 00
" Illinois,	- - - - -		2 50
" Indiana,	- - - - -		2 00
" Canada,	- - - - -		50 00
" England,	- - - - -		82 11
Gain on exchanging bank notes,	- - - - -		42 07
Received from the Publishing Agent,	- - - - -		569 88
Total Receipts,	- - - - -		\$29,071 32

*Paid from May 10, 1836, to May 9, 1837.*

Agents, salaries and traveling expenses,		\$15,725 11
Editor, Corresponding Secretary, and Publishing Agent's Salaries,		3,698 19
Balance due Treasurer last year,		497 74
Paid J. S., error, 1835,		100 00
Advertising,		9 00
Discount on money, interest, &c.		103 66
Postages,		39 23
Reporter at Washington,		50 00
Towards an edition of tract in German language,		100 00
Traveling expenses of Delegates to attend State Auxiliaries,		97 97
Paper for Emancipator, &c.		1,441 00
Paid Publishing Agent,		7,193 92
Balance in treasury,		15 50
		\$29,071 32

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Assistant Treasurer of Am. Anti-Slavery Soc.*

AUDITORS' CERTIFICATE.—We hereby certify that we have examined the books and vouchers of the Assistant Treasurer for the past year, and find the same correct, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$15 50.

NEW-YORK, 11 May, 1837.

JAMES S. GIBBONS, }  
JOHN E. FULLER, } *Auditors.*

## CONDENSED VIEW OF BOTH REPORTS.

RECEIPTS.		DISCOUNTS, INTEREST, &c.	
Contributions fr. dif. States, &c.	\$28,459 37	Advertising \$9, Reporter \$50,	61 59
Quarterly subscriptions paid Publishing Agent,	601 72	Postages,	59 00
Rec'd for publications sold at Office,	9,207 86	Publication of a German tract,	346 30
Balance in hands of Pub. Agent, }		Expenses of Delegates,	100 00
May 9, 1836, \$145 10 }		Paper for publications,	97 97
Deduct in his hands May }		Books and pamphlets,	10,576 14
10, 1837, 109 16 }		Stationary, &c.	4,203 33
Total receipts,	\$32,304 89	Assistance in Office,	432 79
		Office rent,	1,229 99
		Distributing papers in city,	565 00
		Small bills for various objects,	36 75
		Envelope paper,	213 92
Agents,	\$15,725 11	Carpenters' work and boxes,	53 50
Editor, Cor. Sec'y, & Pub. Agent,	3,698 19	Balance in treasury,	292 07
Due Treasurer last year,	497 74		15 50
J. S., error 1835, refunded	100 00	Total,	\$32,304 89

## FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT.

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THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting their Fourth Annual Report, would pause to drop a tear over the graves of the venerable GEORGE BENSON, one of the Society's Vice Presidents; THOMAS SHIPLEY and EDWIN P. ATLEE, two of its most active and devoted managers. Others, too, whose prayers and toils have mingled with ours, have just finished their course, and left to this precious cause the testimony of their dying love.\* These solemn monitions from Him in whose hand is the life of every living thing, teach us that the time is short in which we can plead for His outraged and down-trodden poor. But the events of the year are well adapted to assure us, that our pleading, if humbly and faithfully persevered in, will not be in vain.

So far as reports have reached the Committee, the number of societies organized since the last anniversary is 483, making the whole number 1005. Flourishing State Auxiliaries have been organized in Michigan and Pennsylvania, while those already existing in seven other states have prosecuted their labors with increasing zeal, energy and success. The number of presses friendly to Anti-Slavery doctrines, and wholly or in part devoted to their propagation, has been greatly multiplied; while opposing presses have, in numerous instances, given marked indications of their sensibility to an approaching turn in the tide of public opinion and feeling.

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\*Among these, deserve to be mentioned especially, Miss CAROLINE WHEFLOCK, of Washington County, N. Y., and Miss ANN GREENE CHAPMAN, of Boston. The former left to the American Anti-Slavery Society a legacy of eight hundred dollars, and the latter, of one thousand.

The amount of funds placed in the hands of the Committee has not been so great as was expected, at the last anniversary. From the reports of the Treasurer and Publishing Agent it will appear that the total receipts have been \$38,304 89, being an increase over the receipts of last year of \$12,438 59. Of this amount a much larger proportion than last year has been expended on the support of living agents. The issues from the press during the year have been as follows, viz. :

Bound volumes,	7,877
Traacts and pamphlets,	47,250
Circulars, etc.	4,100
Prints,	10,490
Anti-Slavery Magazine,	9,000
Slaves Friend,	130,150
Anti-Slavery Record,	103,000
Human Rights,	189,400
Emancipator,	217,000
<hr/>	
Total,	718,267

There have been appointed by the Committee, in the course of the year, but chiefly within the last six months, upwards of seventy agents, sixty-five of whom have been in the service of the Society for longer or shorter periods. The aggregate amount of their labors has been thirty-two years. And well and faithfully have they done their work, lecturing with a frequency and energy which nothing but strong feeling and a thorough conviction of the importance and urgency of their righteous cause can have sustained. The success which has attended their efforts is most marked and cheering.

Three of the agents have devoted themselves exclusively to the business of encouraging our colored brethren in the free states, in their laudable efforts to rise, by good education of their children and virtuous industry, above the cruel prejudice which is crushing them in the dust, and through their degradation darkening the despair of the slave. The statistics of our colored population, their grievances and the obstacles which have opposed their advancement have been searched out. They have been encouraged to form societies for mutual assistance and improvement, to support schools, to put their children where they can acquire trades, and to apply themselves to more substantial and independent oc-

cupations than those to which they are chiefly devoted in our large cities. In the western states they are induced to purchase, clear and cultivate the public lands; and the good effect of their zeal and success in this enterprise, both upon themselves and their white neighbors, begins to be happily developed. The agent in Ohio, who, for the sake of encouraging colored men to become cultivators of the soil, has placed his head quarters in the wilderness twelve miles from any Post Office, writes, "People are coming and buying every week. My wife gets new plots from the land office, every now and then, that she may be able to give them directions where to look for lots." He says of the colored people of that state, whom he has laboriously searched out, "The abolition breeze that has blown over them has been like the Spirit of God upon Adam's lifeless clay." The following among other facts, which he states, show how the new life manifests itself. "One man, (in Springfield,) who was a slave till he was about forty years old, has built a school house at his own expense, on his own lot, which is occupied by a school with thirty scholars." "J. Wise (in the vicinity of Springfield) bought himself in Virginia, he rents a farm—raised 1000 bushels of corn last year, etc. I met him driving his team of four horses to the village with a load of brick. He has two children yet in slavery." "William Roberts also rents a farm—raised 4000 bushels of corn last year." "Nimrod Morgan, a blacksmith, owns his shop, house and lot." "I have found some very good farmers. One man in Butler county, has taken the premium at the agricultural fair for three years, for the best sheep. I should consider it an honor to any man to have so well cultivated a farm as he has. I have noticed that such men have generally the good will and respect of the whole neighborhood where they reside." Thus let colored men become farmers and strike their roots deep in our free soil, and they will infallibly rise above that prejudice which now makes us even hesitate to publish these simple facts, lest they should draw forth mobocratic vengeance to defeat the experiment.

The labors of the two agents on the eastern side of the mountains have been specially directed to the business of encouraging the colored population in our larger towns, to provide for the education of their children, both in letters and trades; to organize Temperance Societies—to support a

paper specially devoted to their benefit, and which is now edited in this city by one of their own number—and to assist so far as is in their power by direct efforts, the cause of their enslaved brethren. In another place facts will be developed, showing the high importance of this part of our enterprise and its intimate connection with the abolition of slavery.

One agent has been employed to investigate the condition and prospects of the colored people in Upper Canada, where he finds a population of about 10,000, almost entirely fugitives from American oppression. Having crossed the line with no other wealth than their own bodies and souls, many of them have made themselves quite comfortable, and some have become even wealthy. Several schools have sprung up among them by the efforts of the agent. Full and satisfactory evidence of their good behaviour and value as citizens has been given by the highest civil authorities, and by men of standing of different sects and parties.

The following letters were received by the agent, in reply to his inquiries, from gentlemen in Toronto, whose character is too well known to need any description.

1st.—From Hon. R. G. DUNLAP, Member of the Provincial Parliament.

*House of Assembly, Toronto, January 27, 1837.*

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to assure you that I feel much pleasure in replying to your communication of yesterday, and in recording my testimony, whether in my private capacity as a subject, or in my public as a magistrate and representative of the people, it gives me infinite satisfaction to say, that after much observation and some experience, I have arrived at this conclusion, viz. that there are not in his Majesty's dominions, a more loyal, honest, industrious, temperate, and independent class of citizens than the colored people of Upper Canada. Go on therefore, my dear sir, in your work of charity, and let us pray fervently to the Most High, that he will look down with compassion on the degraded children of Africa, and lead them as he did his chosen people of old, from your modern Egypt of oppression.

I remain, dear sir, your's very sincerely,

R. G. DUNLAP,

Captain of R. N., M. P. for the County of Huron.

2d.—From W. L. MACKENZIE, Esq.

*Toronto, January 30, 1837.*

SIR,—In reply to your inquiries, I beg to offer as my opinion, with much diffidence, 1st. That nearly all of them are opposed to every species of reform in the civil institutions of the colony—they are so extravagantly loyal to the Executive, that to the utmost of their power they uphold all the abuses of government, and support those who profit by them. 2d. As a people they are as well behaved as a majority of the whites, and perhaps more temperate. 3d. To your third question I would say, not "more numerous." 4th. Cases in which colored people ask public charity are rare, as far as I can recollect. I am opposed to slavery, whether of whites or blacks, in every form. I wish to live long enough to see the people of this continent, of the humblest classes, educated and free, and held in respect, according to their conduct and attainments, without reference to country,

color, or worldly substance. But I regret that an unfounded fear of a union with the United States on the part of the colored population should have induced them to oppose reform and free institutions in this colony, whenever they have had the power to do so. The apology I make for them in this matter is, that they have not been educated as freemen.

I am, your respectful humble servant,

W. L. MACKENZIE.

3d.—From JOHN H. DUNN, Esq.


SIR,—In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, containing certain inquiries relating to the people of color in this city, I have much pleasure in affording my testimony for the information of the society of which you state yourself to be the agent, at the same time, begging you will consider my observations as strictly applicable to the people of color within this city and immediate neighbourhood, to which alone my knowledge extends. In reply to query No. 1, I believe them to be truly loyal subjects of the government. 2d. As a people, I have no reason to question their honesty or industry, and as far as my observations serve me, they appear to be both temperate and well behaved. 3d. I am not aware that criminal cases are more numerous with them than with others in proportion to their numbers. But with respect to your 4th question, I wish to be more explicit and to remark, that although I have been in the habit of daily contributing my assistance to a vast number of destitute poor, ever since my residence in this province, now seventeen years, I do not remember ever having been solicited for alms by more than one or two people of color during the whole course of that period.

I am, your respectful humble servant,

JOHN H. DUNN,  
Receiver General, Upper Canada.

Many of these self-emancipated people are found to be very intelligent, and capable of throwing much light on the house of bondage from which they have escaped. Their statements of the horrors of slavery, which they have felt and seen, are so full, definite, and circumstantial—with names, dates, and places—that unless contradicted by more than a mere denial, they must command our belief.

Several flourishing Anti-Slavery Societies have been formed in the Province, to co-operate with us in the moral warfare, and to bar out that prejudice which some of our white republicans are industriously exporting.

One agent has been exclusively devoted to the dissemination of Anti-Slavery principles among children and youth—and with gratifying success. On looking into our present generation of revised and improved school-books, it will be seen, that those faithful finger-boards which used to point the young mind towards righteousness and liberty, and away from  SLAVERY, as from a den of abominations, are mostly torn down, and in their stead, in some of the popular reading books and geographies,\* pleasant lanes are

\* See, especially, Goodrich's Universal Geography, p. 263 and onward, and Balbi's School Geography, p. 113, where it is unequivocally asserted, that the slaves are generally *well treated*, and not *overtasked*.

opened, through which "Southern institutions" look beautiful in the distance. Here is poisoning at the fountain! Had we expended ten times—nay, one hundred times the effort we have to administer the antidote, we could not have been justly chargeable with over-estimating the importance of the measure. Slaveholders dread the young abolitionists more than they do the old.

About the last of November, two agents sailed for the West Indies, with instructions to gather all the facts within their reach, which go to illustrate the working of the British abolition act of 1834, both in regard to the unqualified immediate emancipation of Antigua, and the apprenticeship of the other islands. They have visited Antigua, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and some other islands, and have every where been furnished with the best facilities for investigation. Important results of their labors have been already laid before the public, and others will follow in due time, going to set the fitness of slaves for freedom, and the expediency of immediate, in preference to gradual, or partial, or qualified emancipation, in the clearest possible certainty.

The Committee cannot omit to mention, with heartfelt thanks to God, the important aid the cause has received from two sisters, from Charleston, S. C.—once the holders of slaves. They have, without reserve, laid themselves on the altar of the cause, at the expense of becoming aliens and outcasts from their native city, and from a large circle of slaveholding relatives and friends. For their constant toil, they have declined receiving any pecuniary compensation. Their touching "appeals," both written and oral, have, we doubt not, kindled a genuine abolition flame in many thousands of hearts. Let them hold on their course, till universal womanhood is rallied in behalf of the bleeding victims of wrong.

Fully aware of the immense importance of British sympathy and concurrence to the cause of Emancipation in the United States, Mr. George Thompson has continued his labors in England and Scotland, with unabated zeal and the most cheering success. Through his agency, British Christians have been correctly informed of the character of American Slavery, and of its relation to the American churches; and consequently memorials and remonstrances have been borne across the Atlantic by every breeze. These faithful and unsparing rebukes have had a most salutary



effect. They were at once so keenly felt, that our pro-slavery Christians resolved on a mighty effort to check George Thompson, and fill the eyes of their trans-atlantic brethren with the dust of their own sophistry. The champion of this worthy enterprise was the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, a native of Kentucky—one of the great lights of the Presbyterian church—a divine who is said to have liberated some of his own slaves—and a gradualist. Backed by the highest testimonials, and commended by his own dignity and eloquence, he found in the British public so great a readiness to recoil from the appalling statements of Mr. Thompson to his own soothing varnishes, that he ventured to accept a challenge to a public debate. The discussion took place at Glasgow, and continued five successive evenings. The cause of American prejudice and oppression was managed by Mr. Breckinridge with great adroitness. But his ingenious declamation was met and refuted by American documents, and he was indeed condemned out of his own mouth. Mr. Thompson more than sustained every position which he had taken, by testimony which passed the ordeal of his opponent's closest scrutiny, and conquered the doubts and scruples which had hitherto stood in the way of his own complete success. It was stipulated by the pro-slavery champion, that no decision should be taken immediately after the discussion. The Glasgow Emancipation Society, however, on the 1st of August, took occasion to give its opinion of the matter, when the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, who presided at the discussion, delivered an eloquent speech, in which were the following words:—“I shrink not from saying of him thus publicly, what I have said more privately in the Committee, that I consider him (Mr. Thompson) in this as in former controversies, as having borne himself, in every respect, creditably to his character and to his cause; to have established, to the full, his previous statements; to have successfully vindicated his trans-atlantic proceedings; to have justified the condemnation of the American Colonization scheme; and to have fairly fastened the guilt of slavery on the government and people of the United States; that I consider him, in a word, as having come out of this seven-times-heated furnace unscathed—without a “hair of his head singed, or the smell of fire having passed upon him.” If the meeting are of one mind with me, they will accept the following resolution:—

That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting, the wish announced by Mr. George Thompson, to meet publicly any antagonist, especially any minister of the Gospel from the United States, on the subject of American Slavery, or on any one of the branches of that subject, was dictated by a well-founded consciousness of the integrity of his purpose, and assurance of the correctness of his facts; and that the recent discussion in this city, between him and the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, of Baltimore, has left, not merely unshaken, but confirmed and augmented their confidence in the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, the fidelity of his statements, and the straight-forward honesty and undaunted intrepidity of his zeal."

The vote on this resolution proved the meeting to be of "one mind" with Dr. Wardlaw; and if we may judge from the extreme bitterness of Mr. Breckenridge's subsequent letters, the same mind now pervades the great majority of British Christians. In his letter to Dr. Wardlaw, he abandons all attempt to justify the American churches, and resorts to recrimination—contented with the miserable consolation of reproaching British Christians with the abuses which exist under British laws. Unfortunately for this last resort, these abuses prove to be no darlings of those who have presumed to rebuke American slavery.

The memorials and remonstrances that come to us across the water, show that slaveholders must not longer expect to be welcomed to the pulpits or the church fellowship of British Christians. Their spirit may be illustrated by the language of the Rev. Mr. Mursell, at a Baptist Missionary meeting in Birmingham, in July, 1836. That gentleman said, with his eye on the abolitionists of America,

"I am happy to say, sir, that we do not stand alone in this opinion, but that a large and reputable body of men on the American continent are under the same conviction, and fired by a similar spirit. *To these we resolve this evening to stretch out the hand of fellowship, and upon them we desire the blessing of heaven may descend.* (Hear, hear.) *We will assist them by rousing on all fitting occasions the British mind—by circulating in every possible way relevant information—by conveying loud and long remonstrance—and by* RETIRING FROM ALL UNION WITH THOSE CHURCHES WHICH REFUSE TO HEARKEN TO OUR CRY. (Cheers) LET IT BE DISTINCTLY UNDERSTOOD HERE, THAT ON THIS ACCOUNT, THE RELIGIOUS INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE BAPTISTS IN AMERICA AND THOSE IN ENGLAND IS SUSPENDED. (Immense cheering.)"

The Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, in the speech already referred to, used the following emphatic language:—

"Mr. Breckenridge has said, that if this subject is much meddled with, and especially if such measures are persisted in as those hitherto pursued, there must be a breaking up of the fellowship of American and British Christians. Sir, *I prize that fellowship highly; I prize it individually—*

*I prize it collectively. But if it is a fellowship which requires to be maintained by connivance at iniquity and oppression—if it is not to be enjoyed without our entering into a compact to be silent or to be inactive, on topics respecting which we feel it our incumbent and indispensable duty to “lift up our voices like a trumpet,” and show our brethren their sin—THEN I SAY, WITH WHATEVER RELUCTANCE AND WHATEVER PAIN, LET THE FELLOWSHIP CEASE!”*

The Southern Religious Telegraph gives an extract of a letter from a Virginian travelling in Scotland, dated Oct. 3d, 1836, which bears a strong testimony to the value of Mr. Thompson’s labors. Witness the following:—

“Since my arrival in this country, I have had frequent occasions to witness among the dissenting clergy in particular, their utter abhorrence not only of the *system* of slavery, but also of the *principles* which are advocated by the greater part of Southern Christians. To maintain that Slavery, *in itself considered, is not necessarily sinful*, is in their view so repugnant to every dictate of reason and Scripture, that they can hardly reconcile it with their consciences to believe that the advocate of such a sentiment can ever have experienced the regenerating influence of God’s grace. This state of things has been brought about chiefly through the instrumentality of the noted George Thompson. This man, by exaggeration and distortion of isolated facts, has so wrought upon the feelings of the Christians of England and Scotland, that it will require no ordinary sagacity and forbearance, on the part of the *Southern Christians*, to prevent the disruption of that union of feeling and action which has heretofore so happily existed.”

The last remonstrance which has reached us is from Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven, signed by more than FOUR THOUSAND of old Scotia’s “hardy sons of rustic toil”—

“The wall of fire around her much-loved isle,”

who ask us, with the solemn energy of aggrieved friendship, to wipe the stain from the brow of that American liberty, on which they have loved to gaze, and to wash the “blood of murdered thousands” from the robes of that American Christianity which they long to welcome to the full fellowship of their hearts. What answer shall we return to these four thousand friends?

In the name and strength of God, let George Thompson and his associates go on—let them stamp the brand of felony upon slaveholding, “*in itself considered*,” till the “*sagacity*” of *Southern Christians* shall no longer find the means of hiding it under the sanctity of the church.

Let us now survey the results of Anti-Slavery action at home, and see how far they offer rational encouragement for further labors.

As our object has been to affect the hearts and consciences of men, by an appeal to their religious feelings, we should

naturally look for the most marked results upon truly religious men. A glance at the religious periodicals within the year, must have convinced any one that a great change has been going forward. Not only has the discussion of slavery increased, but a great number of religious bodies have passed and published the most pointedly Anti-Slavery resolutions. Among these cheering testimonies, we notice the following:—

The Worcester Central (Congregational) Association says—

“The usurpation, by man, of dominion over his fellow man, is a *sin*; which, as it ought not to be done, ought at once to be forever forsaken.”

The Cincinnati (Presbyterian) Synod, of Ohio, recommend to all the churches under their care, “to prepare memorials to the General Assembly, that they will enjoin on the inferior judicatories to enforce discipline upon all those who claim the right of property in their fellowmen.”

The General (Congregational) Conference of Maine, say,

“That slaveholding, as it exists in a portion of these United States, is a great sin against God and man, for which the nation ought to humble itself, and for the speedy and entire removal of which, every Christian ought to pray and use all suitable means within his reach.”

In the Pastoral Address to the Congregational Churches of Strafford County, N. H., the abolition cause is warmly commended, and the following rebuke is dealt to those whom it may concern :

“It is mockery, and the world will see it, and our consciences must feel it, for us to pass votes to supply every family in the United States with the Bible, while with Priest and Levite indifference we pass by and leave destitute three hundred thousand American families.”

The Presbytery of Montrose, Pa., say—

“That the buying, selling, or holding of a slave, is a heinous sin and scandal, and requires the cognizance of the judicatories of the church.”

The General (Congregational) Association of New-York, convened at Brighton, passed the following resolution:—

“*Resolved*, That this Association feel bound, by the principles of our holy religion, to co-operate with our brethren who are laboring by truth, and motive, and prayer, to effect the immediate abolition of slavery in these United States.”

The General Conference of Seventh Day Baptists, assembled at Alfred, N. Y., passed the following resolutions:—

“1. *Resolved*, That we consider the practice of holding human beings as mere goods and chattels, entirely subject to the will of their masters, under a tenure which neither recognizes nor secures their religious rights, but, on the contrary, annuls the marriage contract—destroys parental gov-

ernment—prohibits the education of children—forbids the reading of the Scriptures and assembling for public worship—separates families, by selling husbands, and wives, and parents, and children, whenever the interests or necessity of the master may require it—legalizing the enforcement of labor for individual benefit, without wages, and providing no refuge or protection against cruel treatment or unrighteous commands—is a practice forbidden by the law of God, at variance with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which no human legislation can render morally right—which no worldly considerations can justify—and which ought to be immediately abandoned.

“2. *Resolved*, That the condition of more than two millions of native Americans, unrighteously held in such bondage, demands the sympathies and prayers of Christians, who are commanded to “remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.”

The Association of Western New-York (Cong.) say—

“That Slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a sin against God, and a flagrant violation of the rights of man; and that the duty, safety, and interest of all concerned, requires its utter and immediate abolition.”

The Washington Union Baptist Association, Washington County, N. Y., say—

“That the system of *slavery*—the holding in bondage, the buying and selling of human beings—is not only in the *abstract*, but in all and under every circumstance, a sin in the sight of heaven, a violation of the spirit of the Gospel, and an infringement on the inalienable rights of man; that as a sin, men should be faithfully warned of its nature—should repent, and immediately forsake it.”

The Holland Purchase N. Y. Baptist Association say—

“That Slavery, as it exists in these United States, is a *national sin*—a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel and the extension of the Redeemer’s kingdom; and that it calls for the prayers and efforts of Christians to bring it to a speedy termination.”

The Protestant Methodist Conference of Vermont say—

“That, in the opinion of this Annual Conference, the practice of holding our fellow men in involuntary slavery is a sin, and ought to be abolished.”

The French Creek (Pa.) Baptist Association passed the following resolutions:—

“That we deem slavery a sin of most cruel and dangerous character, making war upon the rights of man and the laws of God.

“That, like all other sins, slavery ought to be immediately abandoned; that, like all other sins, it ought to be driven from the church; and that, like all other sins, the whole energies of the church should be concentrated for its extermination.

“That this Association refuse fellowship with slaveholding Baptist Associations, and advise all our churches to adopt rules excluding slaveholders from their communion tables.

The Presbytery of Indianapolis (Indiana) resolved as follows:—

“That this Presbytery will receive no minister as a member who is a slaveholder, or who has sold a slave or slaves into unconditional bondage, unless he will first make all the reparation that may still be in his power.

“That it be recommended to the church sessions under our care, not to receive any person into the communion of the church who is a slaveholder, or who has sold a slave or slaves into unconditional slavery, unless they will first make all the reparation that may be still in their power.”

The Stonington Union Baptist Association (Ct.) say, in regard to slavery,

"We will not insult the Almighty with the reply of the guilty Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" We feel rather to acknowledge before God, "we are verily guilty concerning our brother!" We are loudly called upon for these reasons to express our sentiments on this subject.

"The stand taken by Christians at the South, in attempting to justify their guilty course by the Word of God, would make us partakers of their sins were we to remain silent. Duty calls upon us to record our names against this perversion of the Holy Scriptures."

The Reformed Presbyterian church resolved upon and carried into effect the exclusion of slaveholders from its communion, as early as the year 1800. In 1828, this church gave its approbation to the Colonization Society, mistaking it for a means of removing slavery. At the last session of its General Synod in the city of Pittsburgh, it formally withdrew its approbation from the Colonization Society, and bestowed it unequivocally upon the Anti-Slavery Society. The following spirited and just sentiments are from the preamble and resolutions of this Synod:—

"We have always considered slavery to be an atrocious sin, an outrageous robbery of man from himself and from his Maker—as much more wicked than common robbery as liberty is more valuable than property. Surely, continuance in iniquity cannot make iniquity become justice—no legal investiture can make *wrong* to be *right*, neither can the sin of slavery justify the sin of banishing the sufferers; nor can we conceive of any thing more injudicious, than to transport the heathen of our land to evangelize them on the African shore. Therefore,  
*Resolved,*

"1. That as this Synod has always borne explicit testimony against the heaven-daring sin of slavery, and lifted their warning voice against its awfully dangerous consequences, so they continue to do.

"2. That this Synod continues to maintain the duty and safety of the immediate and universal emancipation of the enslaved, and they view with satisfaction and interest the augmentation of numbers, and the increase of zeal among the friends of the abolition of slavery in our land.

"3. That the Colonization Society, in making expatriation a condition of emancipation—in fostering and not suppressing prejudice against the colored man—in extorting the consent of the enslaved to banishment, as if "by a *cart-whip*"—does not merit, but has forfeited the patronage of the Christian community, and cannot have the approbation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

"4. That however pure may be the motives of Colonizationists and benevolent their operations for the good of the colored man, an insuperable objection lies against the system, viz., that he never desired their aid in this way; the colored population of this country always shuddered at the idea of transportation to Africa, where the language of the people is to them barbarous, and the climate insalubrious. They have the innate attachment of mankind to the place of their nativity, and the peculiar horror of removal which is necessarily attached to those who have never read nor traveled; besides, it is plain, that some of them viewed from the first the plan of colonization with a suspicious eye, as designed to weaken the nature and remove the mind and muscles of free blacks, so that they could in no way minister to the removal of the heavy yoke that galled the shoulders of their brethren. In fine, they viewed, and still view more and more the transportation ship with horror, inferior only to the slave market; and the African shore with dread reluctance, only inferior to the rice plantation in Arkansas or Texas."

The Hancock (Baptist) Association, Maine, have resolved,

“That we, as the professed followers of Jesus Christ, have no fellowship or communion with those who, under the character of Christians, continue to hold their fellow men in bondage.”

The Washington (Baptist) Association, Maine, passed the following:—

“That, as Christians, we can have no fellowship with those who, after being duly enlightened on this subject, still advocate and practice its abominations, and thus *defile* the church of God.”

This is probably but a small part of the testimony of religious bodies to the *sin of slavery*, given without qualification or reserve. Let all the Northern churches come out in this spirit, throwing apologies and qualifications to the winds, and we shall soon see whether it will be considered a Christian thing, “*in itself considered*,” to hold property in human flesh—to make men work without pay—to buy and sell the image of God!

It is one of the most auspicious signs in this Anti-Slavery movement, that it is not confined to any sect. It is as broad as human nature itself. Religious men of all sects feel that it comes home to their religious responsibilities, and that to keep silence now, when the oppressor is trampling in his fury, and the last hope of the slave seems fading into despair, is treason to God. From this rallying on common ground, in spite of the old thorny hedge fences of sectarianism, we infer that this cause has seized fast hold of religion itself, and not of its artificial drapery.

The effect of this moral attack upon slavery is beginning to be felt through the whole mass of the people. It shows itself already through some of our state legislatures. Where last year abolitionism was branded as treason, this year it has been openly avowed. Men who last year hoped to rise to power by abusing the Abolitionists, are this year humbly asking Abolition votes. Some have seen their mistake too late, and have been obliged to give place to better men.

No legislature of a free state has dared to comply with the insolent demand of the South, to suppress Anti-Slavery Societies by penal enactments.

In some, the rights of free speech and a free press have been nobly advocated. In the legislature of Pennsylvania, at the session before the last, the southern resolutions were referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, of which the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens was chairman. The manly report of this committee holds the following language.

"The committee are compelled, by a sense of duty which they owe to Pennsylvania as a sovereign and independent state, and to themselves as freemen, to deny the right of Virginia, or any other state, to claim from us any legislation of the character referred to in these resolutions. Every citizen of the non-slaveholding states has a right freely to think and publish his thoughts on any subject of national or state policy. Nor can he be compelled to confine his remarks to such subjects as affect only the state in which he resides. Without regard to the place of his residence, he may attempt to show that the usury laws of New-York or Pennsylvania, or the laws regulating negro slavery in Virginia or Mississippi, are immoral and unjust, and injurious to the prosperity and happiness of the respective states; his arguments may be weak, foolish, and false, but it would be tyranny to prohibit their promulgation. Could any other state maintain the right to claim from us such legislation, we and our citizens would be reduced to a vassalage but little less degrading than that of the slaves whose condition we assert the right to discuss. Nor can we yield our assent to the opinion that Congress does not possess the right to abolish slavery within the district of Columbia and the territories of the United States. No such prohibition is to be found in the Constitution of the United States. But unrestricted right to legislate for them is expressly granted.

"Possessing such right, it would seem to be a reproach upon our national legislature not to have exercised it heretofore. Slavery not only exists within the district over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, but it is understood to be an extensive market for the sale of slaves. To witness droves of human beings bound together with iron fetters, and lashed forward to hopeless servitude, by freemen, descanting loudly and boastfully on the blessing of liberty, is a moral anomaly, which fails to shock only because of its familiarity.

"The committee forbear to notice those parts of the resolutions which seem to imply a menace, if the non-slaveholding states should not comply with the wishes of the slaveholding states on this subject, as it can hardly be believed that they were intended to bear such construction. The committee report the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*,—That the slaveholding states alone have the right to regulate and control domestic slavery within their limits.

"*Resolved*,—That Congress does possess the constitutional power, and it is expedient to abolish slavery and the slave trade within the District of Columbia."

This report was not adopted, but in the generally sycophancy of the North, it is honorable to Pennsylvania, that it was introduced and advocated at all. It was a strong pulse of returning life.

Governor RITNER of the same state, took occasion in his annual message to reprimand in terms of just severity, "the base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of slavery."—What could be more worthy to sink into the ears and hearts of freemen than his exhortation in the following words:

"While we admit and scrupulously respect the constitutional rights of other states, on this momentous subject, let us not by either fear or interest, be driven from aught of that spirit of independence and veneration for freedom which has ever characterized our beloved commonwealth.

"Above all, let us never yield up the right of free discussion of any evil which may arise in the land or any part of it; convinced that the moment we do so the bond of union is broken. For, the Union being a voluntary compact to continue together for certain specified purposes, the instant one portion of it succeeds in imposing terms, and dictating conditions upon another, not found in the contract, the relation between them changes, and that which was union becomes subjection."



The legislature of Vermont has done honor to her free mountains by the following resolutions, which were ordered to be transmitted to the executives of each of the states :—

*Resolved*,—By the general assembly of the State of Vermont, that neither Congress, nor the State Governments, have any constitutional right to abridge the free expression of opinions or the transmission of them through the medium of the public mails.

*Resolved*,—That Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

The legislature of Massachusetts, called to speak for the right of petition, prostrated by the rules of the last Congress, have taken a position honorable to the state which abolished slavery by her Bill of Rights, and sustained it with a unanimity which has surprised the friends of humanity not less than it has cheered them.

Whereas, the House of Representatives of the United States, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, did adopt a resolution, whereby it was ordered that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, should be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon; and whereas, such disposition of petitions then or thereafter to be received, is a virtual DENIAL OF THE RIGHT ITSELF; and whereas, by the resolution aforesaid, which is adopted as a standing rule of the present House of Representatives, the petitions of a large number of the people of this commonwealth, praying for the removal of A GREAT SOCIAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL EVIL, have been slighted and contemned; therefore,

*Resolved*,—That the resolution above named, is an assumption of power and authority, at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the *inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man*; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State.

*Resolved*,—That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, *have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this commonwealth*

*Resolved*,—That Congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, POSSESS THE RIGHT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IN SAID DISTRICT, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard for the public good.

These resolutions, with their preamble, passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 378 to 16, and were concurred in by the Senate. That branch indeed went further, and voted UNANIMOUSLY to substitute for the last of the resolutions quoted above, the following :—

*Resolved*,—That Congress having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possesses the right to abolish slavery and the slave trade therein; and the *early exercise* of such right is demanded by the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world, by the principles of the revolution and humanity.

The following additional resolution was adopted, Yeas, 33—Nays, 1.

*Resolved*,—That slavery being an admitted moral and political evil, whose continuance, wherever it exists, is vindicated mainly on the ground of necessity, it should be circumscribed within the limits of the states where it has already been established; and that no new state should hereafter be admitted into the Union, whose constitution of government shall sanction or permit the existence of domestic slavery."

These resolutions were finally receded from by the Senate, not because they had any disposition to retreat from the principles laid down in them, but to preserve a greater majority in the House.

A decision has been given by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, whereby every slave brought by his master upon her soil, becomes free. The praise given to Massachusetts for this decision will sound almost as strangely hereafter, as the blame. No state that sincerely desires her soil to be free, can suffer any person to use the services of slaves upon it, and surely not a citizen of another state any more than one of her own. If a citizen of Louisiana may bring a troop of slaves at his heels, to be used as chattels or carried off as such, slavery is effectually reinstated in Massachusetts. Her own citizens have only to go to the great southern shambles and buy as much human flesh as they please. They may bring it home with them and use it as it is used in South Carolina. If there are any who think the citizens of Massachusetts so strong in virtue that she might safely have had the 'comity' to allow slaveholders commorant in her territory to enjoy the comfort of having their shoes untied and their coats unbuttoned by their own peculiar "property," let them remember that multitudes of the citizens of Massachusetts resort to the South to obtain wealth which is to be expended in their native state, and in their sojourn among slaveholders learn their ways. The case in question illustrates this remark. The girl Med, who was declared free by the Supreme Court, had been brought from New Orleans, by a Mrs. Slater, who came to reside with *her father*, Mr. Thomas Aves, in *Boston*. If the law had allowed this in one case, it might have done so in ten thousand. *Slaves* would soon form a prominent part of the fortunes brought back from New Orleans. The only wonder is, that Massachusetts should so long have neglected to defend herself from this inlet of slavery. The decision was, in

fact, the only means she had of preventing her own citizens from re-establishing slavery in her own territories.

While this action at the North assures us that we have not been laboring in vain to effect a change of public opinion here, there is not wanting a bow of hope even on the black cloud of the southern horizon. The tone of the South is lower. The slaveholding legislatures demanded of the free, that they should suppress abolitionism by penal enactments, which the free have refused to do. The earth is not moved from its course—the land does not bristle with steel nor flow with blood. The free states hold their place upon the map, and there is less prospect of a “Southern Convention” than ever. Every day is making abolitionism better understood at the South, and while some, the more they know of it are the more exasperated, others, and their number is not small, are conscience smitten, and secretly pray that the cause of right may succeed. When it is remembered that slavery imposes upon all the whites at the South the most absolute and every-where-present despotism, that even individual slaveholders themselves are gagged by the inexorable system of which any one of them is but an infinitesimal part, it will not be wondered that southern abolitionism is secret and silent. Still it gives unquestionable signs of its existence. The very fear expressed by determined slaveholders would be proof enough of itself. When they represent themselves as reposing upon a magazine of gunpowder, it is at the doctrine of immediate emancipation in the midst of them that they are frightened, and not at the danger of slave insurrection, which long familiarity has taught them in a great measure to despise. But with all their effort to convince the northern people that they are *one* on the subject of slavery, the fact leaks out that abolitionism is taking root among them.

The North Carolina Watchman, printed at Salisbury, says,

“It (the Abolition Party,) is the growing party at the North, we are inclined to believe that there is even MORE OF IT AT THE SOUTH THAN PRUDENCE WILL PERMIT TO BE OPENLY AVOWED: if ever this faction become the majority, of which there is great danger, &c.”

Says a gentleman in a slave state, writing to the editor of the Philanthropist, “I am pleased with the onward movement of Anti-Slavery principles.” A minister of the Gospel in Kentucky, writing to the same editor, says, that his neighbors “have no sympathy with the indignation generally

expressed at the South against the abolitionists," but on the other hand, consider the South "as *infatuated* to the highest degree." They also begin to express more horror at "the traffic in slaves by ministers of the Gospel," and have some scruples against hearing them preach.

The following testimonials have also been received by the editor of the *Philanthropist*, to the estimation in which his paper is held in the midst of slavery :

*April 30, 1836.*

"So far as the general principles of immediate abolition are developed here, so far of opposition to them, as principles, ceases : and much of that heat manifested on the first appearance of the *Philanthropist* has cooled. Your course is generally approved, and your friends here trust and believe that as you have begun, so you will continue, mild, calm, Christian like—YET cool, firm, and unmoved."

*From another in a Slave State, April 18, 1836.*

"Your paper is regularly distributed here, and as yet works no *incendiary* results ; and, indeed, so far as I can see, general satisfaction is here expressed, both as to the temper and spirit of the paper, and no disapprobation as to the results."

A gentleman in Kentucky wrote to Gerrit Smith, Esq. under date of August 31, 1836.

"I am fully persuaded, that the voice of the free states, lifted up in a proper manner, against the evil, will awaken them from their midnight slumbers, and produce a happy change."

The *Maryville Intelligencer*, a newspaper in Tennessee, says,

"Through the urgent solicitations of an esteemed friend, we have concluded to commence the publication, in our next paper, of "The Report of the Synod of Kentucky, proposing a plan for the moral and religious instruction of their slaves." It is an able document, and but for its length, and one or two occasional aberrations, from what we consider a fearless defence of the *rights of man*, we should not have hesitated to have given it a place in our columns some time ago."

The "Report" referred to, so far as the full exposure of the wickedness of slaveholding is concerned, is a thoroughly abolition document. It flinches from a "fearless defence of the rights of man," only in allowing that the slaveholder may be innocent when he holds the legal relation of master for the slaves good. This republication, we must remember, is after a law, making it penal in Tennessee, to receive any Anti-Slavery paper or pamphlet. Yes, making it a penitentiary offence to receive this very Report of the Kentucky Synod.

Even in the city of Charleston itself, where more than one thousand human beings are sometimes advertised to be sold at auction, in a single newspaper, the Common Council has had under consideration a proposal for "the establish-

ment of a mart for the sale of negroes, in a place *more remote from observation*, and less offensive to the public eye, than the one now used for that purpose."

At the session of the New-York Annual Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in June, last year, exceptions were made by a prominent member to the ministerial character of the Rev. S. C. D. for reading and showing an abolition paper to some of his parishioners. During the examination, there was present a southern travelling preacher, a resident of a slaveholding state.

When the Conference adjourned, he came to the minister whose conduct was censured, and addressed him as follows :

"Don't give it up—don't bow down to slavery. You have thousands at the South who are secretly praying for you; they get some of your publications, and they are converted by them. The Abolitionists have not misrepresented things; they have not yet told half the abominations of slavery."

A gentleman present who was struck with this avowal, took occasion to make particular inquiries of this southern minister, and he confirmed the following statements :

"1. That the South is not that unit of which the pro-slavery party boast. There is a diversity of opinion among them in reference to slavery; and that it is only Lynchism, or the reign of terror, which suppresses an expression of their opinions.

"2. That there are thousands who believe slaveholding sinful, particularly among the less opulent part of the community—that these were secretly wishing the abolitionists success, and did believe that God would bless the present movements to destroy slavery.

"3. That in despite of some northern postmasters and southern mail violators, Anti-Slavery publications find their way to the South—are read, and make converts. Hence the anticipations of Duff Green are verified, who was more afraid that the abolitionists would convert the southern master, than that they would incite the slave to insurrection. And,

"4. That those ministers of the Gospel and ecclesiastical bodies who indiscriminately denounce the abolitionists, without doing any thing themselves to remove slavery, have not the thanks of thousands at the South—but, on the contrary, are viewed as taking sides with slaveholders, and recreant to the principles of their own profession."—*Zion's Watchman*.

Testimony of this kind might be extended through many pages, and however apocryphal some may please to consider it, to the spirits of those who have been toiling under the burden and heat of this cause, it has been as springs in the desert. But setting the testimony aside, ought any man, on the ground of human nature itself, to doubt the existence of such feelings at the South? An entire community can hardly be made to harmonize in any system or theory, right or wrong, much less can full concurrence be secured to a system of practical oppression. Never was the enginery of

self-interest set in fuller motion than to secure "unity of faith" under the Roman Pontiffs of a few centuries ago.—How few and faint and hopeless the sparks of free thought, that no sooner appeared above the surface, than they were drowned in an ocean of omnipresent despotism! Hear the universal acclaim of Europe, like the waves of the sea, shouting Hosanna to the Pope? Who would have thought that the tremendous power of that system, binding every man, from the throne to the dunghill, with the three-fold cord of superstition, lucre and lust could be broken. Who would have thought that there slumbered under that sea of corruption a moral energy which would one day make the spiritual Autocrat content to retain the shadow of his power? Yet such an energy there was, which when kindled to action, like the gunpowder in the granite rock, was the more efficient from the firmness of the barriers which enclosed it. Just so, there is mind at work, under the iron rule of the slave system which no voice reveals, but which works the more powerfully for that. The more profound the silence now, the louder the explosion by and by.

To these sources of hope, we may add the recent developments of a Providence which never establishes the throne that frames mischief by a law. The commercial world is now passing into one of those collapses which never fail to succeed an overblown system of credit. The scramble for wealth has probably been rendered more than usually ardent and headlong by the general peace which has existed since the last great man-tiger was caged at Waterloo. Men have not been contented to await the natural products of capital and industry; nor fairly to share with each other the results when they came. There has been a prodigious effort, by blowing up the system of *credit* on the one hand, to convert the products of the future into the wealth of the present, and on the other, to forestall and monopolize the wealth that is to be. There has been a general system of crediting to be credited, the men of real wealth little recking that in thus avariciously grasping for more, they have been bidding premiums for idleness and dishonesty. Among those who have seized these premiums with most avidity, and whose faithlessness is doing most to bring the whole system to its ruin, are the slaveholders. Since the genius of Arkwright took the distaff and the spindle from the hands of the busy housewife, and multiplying them by

hundreds, set them to whirling by the magic of steam, capitalists have had the means of clothing the whole world. The cheapest material is cotton, and unfortunately, the most available resource for that has been our slave-cursed Southern country, and especially since the *unpaid* ingenuity of Whitney opened the uplands to the culture of the staple which before could be raised profitably only on the most fertile plains and sea-islands. As the market for the goods, at the price at which machinery could manufacture them, was almost boundless, the demand for the raw material has steadily risen with the increase of machinery. Abating for the decrease of the value of money, consequent upon an exorbitant increase of banking, it is probable that the price of cotton has increased two-thirds during the last six years—nominally, it has more than doubled. Here, then, free labor being shut out from competition, a premium of untold wealth has been held out to the driving of slaves. Northern merchants, anxious to partake the rich plunder, have offered their aid to the whip-wielding power. They have furnished their capital for the extension of slave labor, and have been permitted to reap great profit from the carrying trade. Madly hastening to be richer, they have outbid each other in long credits, to secure Southern custom, till the South, like all well-trusted and prodigal customers, has squandered her own means and theirs, and they are left in the lurch. The lavish expenditure of the South, like that of Spain enriched by the gold of Mexico and Peru, always outruns its vast resources; so that, supposing the price of cotton had gone on increasing, the South would sooner or later have failed to pay her immense debts. For the last few years, she has striven to help her failing fortunes by the necromancy of banking, and has thus set her slave system into the most feverish and fearful activity. In the State of Mississippi alone, the bank circulation is said to be not less than \$60,000,000, while the paid capital is but \$10,000,000, and the specie but \$2,000,000. With this vast inflation of money, it is no wonder that the price of a working slave has risen to \$1500—more than double what it was when slave-growing Virginia professed to have serious thoughts of emancipation. But with all this abundance of money, the State is mortgaged to Northern merchants, who have advanced for crops that are yet to be planted. The same state of things exists, in a greater or less degree,

through the whole cotton-growing South. The price of cotton, had it kept up, could not have borne the enormous extravagance and mad speculation that have grown out of the slave system. There must be a re-action upon the system itself. Both the cotton-growers and the slave-growers will soon be brought to feel—but with tenfold pressure—what Virginia felt in 1832. No scale of profit can permanently enrich a slaveholding country.

The natural result of this extraordinary bankruptcy at the South, would be to throw the ownership of large numbers of slaves upon Northern capitalists—in which case, there is reason to believe, they would derive less profit from them than they do now. But another event is perhaps more likely to happen. Slavery is the rule of violence and arbitrary will, and not of reason or law. It would be quite in character both with its theory and practice, as exhibited at the South, if the slave-drivers should refuse to pay their debts, and meet the sheriff with dirk and pistol. In a country where hanging without trial is justified by the highest authority—the body of the people—it is hardly to be expected that the sacredness of contracts can be very deeply felt. Should Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, subject the claims of our merchants to their favorite “Lynch law,” it will have the good effect, at least, to cool their ardor in the defence of “the peculiar institutions of the South.”

But there is another cause, besides the enormous prodigality of slaveholders and the ebb-tide of commercial credit, which begins to operate to lessen the profits of slave-labor: and, if we mistake not, it will continue to diminish the price of cotton after the present difficulty of trade shall have passed away. The British have possession of a country on the other side of the globe, containing 100,000,000 of people, with a soil and climate, to say the least, as well adapted to the growth of cotton as ours, and the cheapest labor in the world. Till recently, the commerce of that country has labored under the crushing incubus of the East India Company—a monopoly which, though invaded in 1814, was not prostrated till the 22d of April, 1834. Since the latter date, the trade with India has been perfectly free; and, as a consequence, British capital is now beginning to rush to the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, and to produce its usual effects. Already has the intercourse with



that country so much increased, that travel is seeking a shorter cut than the stormy Cape of Good Hope; and it is highly probable, that another year will see regular "steamers" on the Euphrates. Already have the resources of India begun to be developed in the exportation of cotton. In the year 1836, Great Britain received from India nearly as much cotton as is manufactured in the United States, being about one-fifth part of her whole consumption, and an increase of 100,000 bales upon the previous year.\* And the

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\* The following is the statement published in the English papers, at the commencement of the present year:—

"Statement of the General Import and Export of Cotton into and from the whole kingdom, from the 1st of January to the 31st ult., and of the Imports and Exports for the same period last year.

#### IMPORTS IN 1836.

American	- - - - -	bags	764,636
South American	- - - - -		147,961
West Indies, Demerara, &c.	- - - - -		36,569
East Indies	- - - - -		219,244
Egypt, &c.	- - - - -		32,421

TOTAL, of all descriptions - - - 1,200,531

#### IN 1835.

American	- - - - -	bags	751,399
South American	- - - - -		151,017
West Indies, Demerara, &c.	- - - - -		7,705
East Indies	- - - - -		111,622
Egypt, &c.	- - - - -		41,816

1,066,162

Increase of imports, as compared with 1835 - - - - 110,042

#### EXPORTS IN 1836.

American, 23,800; Brazil, 2,300; East India, 81,400; West India, 1,100, other kinds, 20.

Total in 1836	- - - - -	bags	108,000
Same period in 1835	- - - - -		102,100

#### STOCK.

December 31, 1836	- - - - -	bags	289,000
Same time, 1835	- - - - -		230,013

A communication in the N. Y. Evening Post, from a responsible source, quotes a letter from a friend, dated "Bombay, the 29th July, 1835," in the following words:—

"As you have taken a good deal of interest in the Cotton cultivation of this country, you perhaps will like to hear that it is just now taking a wonderful start. The Deccan, Candeish, the Southern Mahratta country, and even Canara and Malabar, have become cotton countries, and are rivaling Guzerat in that respect. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that immense quantities of cotton have been brought within the past year or two to Bombay, from the sources of the Nerbudda, in the very centre of India, by a land carriage of 700 miles! The road from Poona to Bombay, is described as being completely blocked up with bullocks laden with cotton; and my informant tells me that he saw strings of them extending without a break for miles; and this in a country where a bale of cotton

importers in Liverpool caution their friends here, that the lower descriptions of American cotton will probably be interfered with by the increasing consumption of Surat cotton.\* "The Stock remaining," they say, "is large, and next year's import will no doubt be abundant. This will insure to the spinners a constant supply, and induce them to adapt their machinery to this description of cotton, *unless a great reduction takes place in the price of low American.*" It seems obvious, that a demand for cotton made upon the rich soil and teeming population of India, must soon be met by an overwhelming supply; and when this supply is once established, it will bear a great reduction of price. And let it be remarked, that the great distance of the sea voyage will very little enhance the expense of transportation. That expense, at the most, is but trifling; and as India is becoming a great market for manufactured goods, cotton is needed for homeward freight. Who can doubt, that the culture of India by free British capital will soon bring the price of cotton so low, that it will no more bear the waste and slovenliness of slave labor, than corn and potatoes? Slave-grown cane sugar is threatened with a similar fate by the cultivation of the beet.

Rice and tobacco have long been rather sources of loss than of profit. The export of these products stands almost precisely where it did forty-five years ago. Indeed, it would seem that the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland must long since have ceased, had it not been kept alive by the increasing profit of the "vigintial crop" of human beings. The quantity produced in free states has been enlarging, and the price falling. Last winter, a general convention of delegates from the tobacco planters of *Ohio*, Virginia, and Maryland, was held in Washington City, by which it was resolved to memorialize Congress to

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was not even seen ten years ago! I am happy to say, too, that it is not only in quantity that we are improving. The European commercial houses here, *of which there are no less than thirty now*, are many of them agents of manufacturers in Manchester, and are fully alive to the importance of clean cotton. They have accordingly taken a good deal of pains to get it picked and packed in the best manner, and I do not doubt will eventually succeed in improving the quality of all the cotton brought to market. At present, it is calculated that the cotton of the Deccan may be cultivated for 90 rupees per candy, (700 lb.) equivalent to 5 1-2 cents per pound. It is, however, selling for 250 rupees, so that the stimulus to cultivation is enormous. It is indeed supposed, should the present process continue, that no less than 400,000 bales of cotton will be exported from India next year."

\* Circular of Colliman, Lambert, & Co., published in the Charleston Mercury.

go a-begging to the potentates of Germany, to take off the duties and restrictions whereby their "peasantry," to employ the language of the convention, "are compelled to use their inferior miserable stuff [what a pity!] at an exorbitant price, mixed with a small portion of American product." But it is doubtful whether those high powers will condescend, even at the humble entreaty of a slaveholding republic, to allow their liege subjects to poison themselves any cheaper or better than they do now. The value of the export of the last year was estimated by the convention at nearly \$9,000,000; on which, it is since learned, that a loss of 25 per cent, or more than \$2,000,000, has been experienced, by the fall of price. And, plainly, the *vile weed*, aided by all the governments and smokers in the world, can no longer give any effectual relief to the sinking cause of slavery—a cause not more at war with the eternal principles of justice and honesty, than it is with the equally eternal principles of arithmetic and political economy.

Let the slaveholders drive on, then, and add the Naboth's vineyard of Texas to the fertile territories taken by similar robbery from the shamefully-wronged Indians; yet a cause over which they *have no control* is destined to strip them of all their advantages, and make their tyranny as unprofitable as it is wicked.

These causes, it is true, will not of themselves abolish slavery, but they will bring slaveholders more within the reach of moral influence, and weaken the mainspring of their tyranny. They will put the wrong-doers in a state of mind to give heed to the truth and seriously consider the claims of justice. They will arouse that discussion at the South which was lately broken off in Virginia by the sudden factitious enhancement of the price of slaves. If there is any truth in the view we have taken, now is the time to rally the moral power of the world against the slave system—now when it reels under the recoil of its own mad attempts to enlarge its power.

The advantage afforded by the present commercial crisis will further appear as we consider the obstacles which have opposed the accomplishment of our designs, or rather which rendered it necessary to resort to such an organization as the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The desire to get the most riches for the least labor is not peculiar to slaveholders. It has been common among men since the curse pronounced upon our first father. It is to

this feeling that all dishonest men appeal for support, and when the mass suppose they have more to gain than to lose by their dishonesty the appeal is too often successful. It has been so with the masters of slaves. They have interwoven their interests with those of others. They have found it necessary to admit others to a share of the plunder, for the purpose of securing the rest.

The labor of two and a half millions of people upon a bountiful soil, though ill directed, must yield, beyond their bare support in working condition, an immense amount of wealth. If it were suffered to accumulate, it would soon cover the land with palaces. But instead of any thing like this, our southern country gives every indication that the wealth of the soil is prodigally dissipated as fast as it is produced. And it is in fact the common plunder of the country. The whole white race at the South participate in it. Northern merchants, northern mechanics, and manufacturers, northern editors, publishers, and printers, northern hotels, stages, steamboats, rail-roads, canal boats, northern banks, northern schoolmasters, northern artists, northern colleges, and northern ministers of the Gospel, all get their share of emolument from this general robbery of the poor. It is true enough that a much larger amount of wealth might be derived from the fertile plains of the South by a system of free labor, but it could not be obtained without more exertion on the part of all who are to enjoy it. When men have earned their money by their own labor they are sparing in the use of it, and do not like to part with it but for a full equivalent. But when they have obtained it at the expense of others they spend it liberally. Hence, there is a "generosity" in the patronage of slaveholders which we do not find in the patronage of even richer men whose wealth is the fruit of their own industry. It is this free hand which endears them to most who go among them or have any dealings with them. Multitudes who imagine themselves opposed to slavery lose their hearts through their pockets, at the first contact with Southern men. They would indignantly repel the insinuation that they had been corrupted through their interests or had ceased to be opposed to slavery. And perhaps it is not exactly true that they have been *bought* to support slavery, or that they are less opposed to it than they ever were. But they have seen slaveholders and know that they are honorable customers and generous friends—they believe they have their peculiar rea-

sions for what they do—and they know that it is hopeless to interfere. They imagine themselves as much the friends of the slave as ever, and they certainly see much more to admire in the master. They are persuaded that it is worse than useless to do any thing for the abolition of slavery which does not set out with the consent of the master. They are sure that all they ever get or expect to get of the gains of slavery would not tempt them to continue the system if it were in their power to abolish it. And thus they convince themselves that their part in the great robbery has not made them either the enemies of the slave or of the abolitionist. But it has certainly made them the friends of the slaveholder. They admire the slaveholder and shield him from the denunciations of the abolitionists, because there is nothing sordid in him, but every thing noble, generous and friendly—all of which means that he has given freely to themselves or their friends in one way or another. Now let us count the men who have direct intercourse with the South, and then take into the account the circles of their northern friends—each intersecting or touching other circles, and we shall find at last that there is not an individual in the whole country whose opinion is not in a greater or less degree acted upon by an influence which was set in motion by a southern bribe. Whole masses of men are thus pulling in the harness of the slaveholders with laborious zeal, while they would have us believe that they are enemies of slavery. They may be unconscious of their friendship for it, but it is none the less real for that.

We might crowd pages with facts illustrating the importance which slaveholders attach to northern support, and the confidence they have in the tie of pecuniary interest, as well as the base servility practised by northern men without a blush, as if it were but the manifestation of honorable friendship or Christian charity. But it would be wasted room. These facts are too common to excite surprise. The idol of slavery has been set up and the burning wrath of the South has been proclaimed as the penalty for refusing to fall down and worship. Not only have the venders of dry goods and groceries, been obliged to disclaim abolition, but the Pharaoh of the South has laid his injunctions upon that profession whose honorable business it is to bring into the world the creations of thought, and has commanded them as did the Egyptian King their prototypes of old, to strangle at the birth

every thing that bears the manly tokens of a love for human liberty. And alas, that we must say it, our literary accoucheurs, unlike those noble Hebrew women, have not feared God and disobeyed the king! We must be allowed to give one or two specimens of the servility to which we refer, which will show as well as a thousand, how by sheer bribery, slavery is corrupting all that is noble in moral feeling, and prostrating all that is honorable in national character. The cases we select from the multitude are not peculiar. Nor have we any private resentment to gratify in bringing them forward. Some objections were made in the *Columbia (S. C.) Telescope*, to the Narrative of Messrs. Reed and Matheson, as containing incendiary matter. As soon as the eyes of the publishers, Harper and Brothers of this city, fell on these remarks, they immediately wrote to the editor of the *Telescope*, excusing themselves on the ground that they were not able to read every book they published, and did not suspect any thing improper. Most humbly do they endeavor to persuade the slaveholders that they would not willingly publish any thing offensive to them, and close with the following words :

"You have no doubt heard of Mr. Abdy's book, which was represented to us as very ably written, and likely to be profitable ; but we were told, also, that Mr. Abdy was an abolitionist, and we would have nothing to do with him. We are, very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

HARPER & BROTHERS."

But obediently servile as they were, they were careless enough after this to publish the "Tales of the Woods and Fields" a romance, containing a whole chapter of "true abolition stuff." The southern "patriarchs" behaved as they are wont to do when an awkward slave upsets a dish of gravy. The Harpers, one of the largest, if not the very largest, publishing house in America, got down upon their knees still more humbly than before, and wrote the following penitential letter to a Charleston bookseller, which was published in the *Charleston Mercury*.

"Dear Sir,—We were entirely ignorant of the fact that the 'Woods and Fields' contained the objectionable matter referred to in your letter of the 2d inst. until after the work was published. The peculiar circumstances in which we were placed, rendered it necessary to issue the work in an unusually short time, and without a previous perusal. We regret the inadvertency very much. We trust, however, that our friends at the South are sufficiently well acquainted with our views and feelings, on the delicate subject in question, to attribute the circumstance to the right cause. By this time it must be pretty generally understood in

your section, as well as elsewhere, that we uniformly decline publishing works calculated to interfere in any way with southern rights and southern institutions. Our interests, not less than our opinions, would dictate this course, if there were no other less selfish considerations acting upon us. Since the receipt of your letter, we have printed an edition of the 'Woods and Fields,' in which the offensive matter has been omitted.

In haste,

Yours respectfully,

HARPER & BROTHERS."

"In haste!" Yes, what trembling slave ever made greater haste to obey the tyrant in whom was vested the ownership of both his soul and body? In one short month the fiat of expurgation travels from Charleston to New-York, the Harpers settle it with their consciences to expunge, mutilate, and falsify the work of a foreign author, and are prepared to say, that they have printed a new edition "*in which the offensive matter has been omitted.*" Here, for the sake of southern custom, is perpetrated a literary forgery, or we should rather say murder, which in a free country, where mind had its honors, should have brought on these publishers everlasting disgrace—yet they are "honorable men"—for they have stooped no lower than the mercantile community in which they move!

A similar outrage has been perpetrated upon the valuable historical and topographical work on the United States of the Rev. John Howard Hinton of England, republished in numbers under the editorial care of Samuel Knapp, Esq. The slaveholders were displeased with the faithful accuracy of their own portraits in one of the numbers and resorted to their usual redress in such cases. In New Orleans a large quantity of the numbers were seized and burnt, and the agent fled for his life. In Charleston another agent collected the copies of the obnoxious number and withdrew them. The publishers at the North took the hint, and prepared another edition, in which the offensive passage was omitted, and thus the Rev. Mr. Hinton was made, perforce, to observe a proper silence on the delicate subject.

It is perfectly immaterial whether we attribute to interest, or to friendship for the slaveholder, such instances of shameful sycophancy, which have become too common to bring reproach. Their bearing on the slave is the same in either case.

But great as is the influence of southern bribery, in the shape of custom, patronage, friendship and hospitality, there

is opposition that has been encountered, and is yet to be, which cannot be thus accounted for. There is an enmity to our principles which does not depend upon the price of cotton. Autocrats are not the only men who love power. The foundation for slavery is broadly laid in perverted human nature, and Mr. McDuffie is not the only man who holds that slavery in some form is one of the essential elements of society. There are men among us who have no fondness for the form of slavery that exists at the South, who are nevertheless deadly hostile to our doctrines in regard to human rights. They are the men who pay homage to wealth and power and place, whose respect and reverence for a man depends more upon the coat which he wears, than the heart which he carries within him. They do not freely accord to their fellow-men the right of thinking as they please on any subject. They are deeply jealous of free thought, and depend less upon reason and truth to combat what they consider error of opinion, than upon management and gagging. This class of men have, with much propriety, been denominated the aristocracy of the North. Aside from all motives of pecuniary interest, and all theories in regard to the justice or policy of the peculiar type of oppression existing at the South, they hold a set of opinions in perfect accordance with those of slaveholders. Their ethics are essentially slaveholding ethics. Their system of morals sacrifices not only private will, but private right, to what they please to call the public good. Abuses sanctioned by law become with them forever sacred. According to their republicanism the rights of the minority, (when they happen not to be in it) are held by the free grace of the majority. In ecclesiastical matters they are always "high-church"—conservatists of forms, powers, creeds, usages, rather than of the blessedly free and benevolent spirit of the Founder of christianity. They seem to fear the prevalence of abolition principles not so much from their hostile bearing upon southern slavery, as lest they should undermine their own power and influence. It is from these men, entrenched in offices of church and state, or wielding the power of old established presses that we have the bitterest opposition to expect.

The opposition during the past year from both the sources to which we have referred has been more active and virulent than ever. The newspaper presses have poured out



their torrents of abuse and falsehood. At one time they have represented abolitionism as dying away, just gasping for breath, and at another as wielding a tremendous power and commanding by means of enormous and secret wealth an agency which would soon dissolve the Union, and overturn the liberties of the country. Nor have they contented themselves with railing at the Anti-Slavery Societies, but the constituted authorities, when they have ventured to favor the doctrine of equal human rights, have come in for a share of abuse. The legislatures of Vermont and Massachusetts, the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, now have to bear the reproach of *fanaticism* to which *our* ears have become quite familiar. To illustrate the utter profligacy to which many of our leading presses have proceeded, we quote a paragraph from a column published in one of the papers of New-York, which boasts a circulation of 10,000 copies daily among "*the better part of the community.*" The subject of its abuse is the decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts against the right of any persons to introduce and hold slaves in that state. Says the distinguished editor :

"Under this decision, property in one state is not property in another, and any state may interdict its being brought into it, or take it away when there, from its lawful owner.

"The conscientious people, who live under the code Lynch, cannot but be marvellously comforted at seeing the decisions of their oracle thus sustained by the Chief Justice of the peaceable and orthodox state of Massachusetts. The code Lynch is founded on an utter disregard to the rights of person and property, the laws of the land, and the Constitution of the United States. The code Shaw rests on a basis similar in all respects to that of the code Lynch. Let us compare the two together, and the identity will be apparent."

Had an abolitionist placed the act of even an inferior officer of one of our courts on a level with the outrageous proceedings of a lawless mob, the welkin would have been made to ring with the outcry against him. But strange as it may seem, here is the respect paid by a large portion of the newspaper press to every man or body of men, high or low, who presume to advocate the doctrine of human liberty! The mischiefs of such presses are counteracted only by the very general conviction among their patrons that their veracity and honesty are always secondary to their interests.

But the most effective opposition we have met with has been from the professed ministers of Christ! The leading influences of the most extensive denominations of Chris-

tians, while they are making no effort whatever against the enormous crime of holding men as property, have spared no pains to thwart the purposes of others who are. Well aware of their influence on every subject pertaining to morals, they have used it to the utmost against the doctrines of equality of rights and immediate emancipation.

The general quadriennial Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which met last spring in Cincinnati, a body which in 1780 declared slavery to be contrary to the laws of God, man and nature—contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, passed the following resolutions, the first by a vote of 122 to 11, and the second of 120 to 14.

*"Resolved, by the delegates of the annual conferences, in General Conference assembled, That they disapprove, in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently upon and in favor of modern abolition.\**

*"Resolved, by the delegates of the annual conferences, in General Conference assembled, That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention, to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slaveholding states of this Union."*

It was with good reason that this Conference prefixed the epithet *modern* to the word abolitionism. The denomination was founded little more than half a century ago by men who were uncompromising abolitionists, and no sin was more pointedly excluded by its rules than slavery. To have expressed unqualifiedly their decided opposition to abolitionism, would have been to unchurch their own venerated Wesley. They were obliged therefore to pretend that the abolitionism of the Anti-Slavery Societies is different from that of their founder, a pretence which proves to be miserably hollow whenever the two sorts of abolitionism are placed side by side. The earliest Methodists rigidly excluded slaveholders from their churches; subsequently they were admitted but enjoined to free their slaves as soon as practicable, last spring it was stoutly claimed that the southern church ought to be allowed a *slaveholding bishop*, and a *secession* is threatened if this request is not granted by the next Conference.

The use which the Southern portion of the church claim to make of these resolutions is abundantly illustrated by

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\* In the debate on the floor of the Conference the Rev. Wm. A. Smith, of Virginia, allowed himself to say of the Rev. Orange Scott, of Massachusetts, "I would to God he were in heaven, where he is prepared to go." No retraction was required by the Conference.

the following extracts. First, we have a letter from George W. Langhorne, a methodist minister, to the editor of Zion's Watchman, dated Raleigh, N. C., June 25, 1836:—

"I, sir, would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti, as numbered with Arthur Tappan and his warren coadjutors. Nothing is more appalling to my feelings as a man, contrary to my principles as a Christian, and *repugnant* to my soul as a *minister*, than the insidious proceedings of such men.

"If you have not resigned your credentials, as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I really think that, as an *honest* man, you should now do it. In your ordination vows, you solemnly promised to be obedient to those who have the rule over you; and since they have spoken, and that *distinctly*, too, on this subject, and disapprove your conduct, I conceive that you are bound to submit to their authority, or *leave the church*."

Again, at a public meeting held at Orangeburgh, S. C., on the 21st of July, 1836, which had been called for the purposes of considering what should be done with a copy of Zion's Watchman, which had been sent to the Rev. J. C. Postell, a member of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist E. Church, Mr. Postell read an address to the citizens of that place, which was published in the Charleston Courier of Aug. 5, 1836, and of which the following is an extract:—

"From what has been premised, the following conclusions result: 1. That slavery is a judicial visitation. 2. *That it is not a moral evil.* 3. *That it is supported by the Bible.* 4. It has existed in all ages.

"It is not a moral evil. The fact, that slavery is of DIVINE APPOINTMENT, would be proof enough with the Christian that it cannot be a moral evil. So far from being a moral evil, it is a MERCIFUL VISITATION—"IT IS THE LORD'S DOINGS, AND MARVELLOUS IN OUR EYES." And had it not been for the best, God alone, who is able, long since would have overruled it. IT IS BY DIVINE APPOINTMENT."

At the same meeting, the Rev. Mr. Postell read a letter which he had addressed to the editor of Zion's Watchman, of which the following are extracts:—

"To LA ROY SUNDERLAND, *Editor of Zion's Watchman, New-York:*

"Did you calculate to misrepresent the Methodist Discipline, and say it supported abolitionism, when the General Conference, in their late resolutions, denounced it as a *libel on truth*? 'Oh, full of all subtilty, THOU CHILD OF THE DEVIL.' 'All liars,' saith the sacred volume, 'shall have their part in the lake of fire and brimstone.'

"I can only give one reason why you have not been indicted for a libel. The law says, the greater the truth, the greater the libel; and as your paper has no such ingredient, it is construed but a small matter. But if you desire to educate the slaves, I will tell you how to raise the money, without editing Zion's Watchman: *you and old Arthur Tappan come out to the South this winter, and they will raise One Hundred Thousand Dollars for you*—New Orleans of herself will be pledged for it. Desiring no further acquaintance with you, and *never expecting to see you but once in time or in eternity*, which is at Judgment, I subscribe myself the friend of the Bible, and the opposer of Abolitionism,

Orangeburgh, July 21, 1836.

J. C. POSTELL.

The New-York Conference actually proceeded so far, as to exact a pledge of its candidates for the ministry, that they would not agitate the subject of slavery. Unblush-

ingly, over the yet fresh graves of Wesley, Watson, and Clarke, did they record the following resolution, for the purpose of curtaining out of sight unutterable abominations:—

*“Resolved,* That although we would not condemn any man, or withhold our suffrages from him on account of his *opinions*, merely, in reference to the subject of Abolitionism, yet we are decidedly of opinion that none ought to be elected to the office of a deacon or elder in our church, unless he give a pledge to the Conference that he will refrain from agitating the church with discussions on the subject—and the more especially as the one promises “reverently to obey them to whom the charge and government over him is committed, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions;” and the other with equal solemnity promises to “maintain and set forward, as much as lieth in him, quietness and peace, and love among all Christians, and especially among them that are or shall be committed to their charge.”

The General Conference, to which we have already alluded, had in its Pastoral Address exhorted all under its care to “abstain from all Abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications;” but it was reserved for a Conference in a nominally free state to go further, and interdict all discussion on the subject! Though scarcely less than 70,000 members of this communion are themselves either groaning under the yoke of bondage, or enjoying a nominal freedom but little better than slavery—bought, and sold, and driven as brutes—denied the reading of the Scriptures, and the security of domestic relations—and, indeed, subjected to the most cruel and degrading despotism ever enforced by man; every candidate is required by this Conference, *for the quiet and peace of the church*, to *pledge* himself not to agitate her communion by “discussions on the subject.” He must not only refrain from Anti-Slavery Societies, but must shut his mouth to the wrongs and woes of tens of thousands of his own Methodist brethren! A stranger would be tempted to inquire, What body, but a band of robbers, could deprecate the agitation of such a subject?

The proceedings of the last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, *presided over by a slaveholder*, are too interesting and instructive not to be noticed at some length. The Assembly of the previous year had received numerous memorials and petitions, praying for the reprobation of slaveholding as a sin against God. These were referred to a Committee, to be reported on to the Assembly of 1836. The following is the report which was presented by a majority of that Committee, through the Rev. Dr. Miller, its chairman:—

"The Committee to whom were referred, by the last General Assembly, sundry memorials and other papers touching the subject of slavery, with directions to report thereon to the General Assembly of 1836, beg leave to report—

"That after the most mature deliberation which they have been able to bestow on the interesting and important subject referred to them, they would most respectfully recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the following preamble and resolutions, viz.:

"Whereas, the subject of slavery is inseparably connected with the laws of many of the States in this Union, with which it is by no means proper for an ecclesiastical judicatory to interfere, and involves many considerations in regard to which great diversity of opinion and intensity of feeling are known to exist in the churches represented in this Assembly. And whereas, there is every reason to believe that any action on the part of the Assembly, in reference to this subject, would tend to distract and divide our churches, and would, probably, in no wise promote the benefit of those whose welfare is immediately contemplated in the memorials in question. Therefore,

"1. *Resolved*, That it is not expedient for the Assembly to take any further order in relation to this subject.

"2. *Resolved*, That, as the *notes* which have been expunged from our public formularies, and which some of the memorials referred to the Committee request to have restored, were introduced irregularly—never had the sanction of the church—and therefore never possessed any authority—the General Assembly has no power, nor would they think it expedient, to assign them a place in the authorized standards of the church."

The pitiful weakness of this attempt to shuffle off the eternal obligations of justice and mercy, is on a level with its wickedness. Is the subject of slavery more closely connected with the laws of any of the states, than is the subject of distilling and lottery gambling with some of them? Is it more closely connected than it was in 1818, when the General Assembly declared "the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature," and "utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves." But is it possible, that a teacher of theology in the nineteenth century, could maintain before a body of Christian ministers, that the license of an immorality by the civil government is a reason why a religious body should neither interdict it, nor express any opinion concerning it? Could the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, maintain a doctrine that would have forbidden the Presbyterian church to discipline her members for frequenting the "*hells*" that are licensed in New-Orleans? But there was a "diversity of opinion," and "an intensity of feeling" in the churches, in relation to slavery! We suppose the same was almost equally true, in regard to some points of theology. Was it considered a good reason why the Assembly should not investigate and decide upon the case of Rev. Albert Barnes? Again, says the report, action would distract the churches. Would not the argu-

ment apply as well to the case of Mr. Barnes? Would it not apply as well to any other case where there should be a diversity of opinion? Would it not, indeed, go far to prove the uselessness of the Assembly itself? for if that judicatory can act only where there is unanimity in the churches, it would almost seem that its action might be dispensed with. Finally, the last reason assigned why the Assembly should take no further order on the subject, is, that it would not benefit the slaves. This is an assumption of the very point which it was important for the Assembly to have investigated. But was it not the first duty of an ecclesiastical body, to settle the right and wrong of slaveholding itself; and if, after "mature deliberation," it had found it wrong to buy and sell men, and hold them as things, would it not be a very plain case, that the practice ought to be stopped—as soon, at least, as (according to the cant phrase) *it can be done safely*? And if the Assembly had caused such a cessation with regard to the members of the Presbyterian Church only—who doubtless hold hundreds of thousands of slaves—can it be denied that the benefit of the slaves would have been promoted? If it should be objected, that an injunction in favor of emancipation would have been disregarded—as indeed it was in 1818—it might well be asked in what predicament must that church be, which will persevere in the practice of an open immorality, in spite of the solemn decision of her own highest judicatory.

Such were the reasons excogitated by the mature deliberations of three of its most prominent ministers, why the Presbyterian church should not prevent her members from trafficking in the souls of their own Christian brethren—from exacting labor without pay—from tearing asunder parents and children, husbands and wives—and from robbing the poor of the bread of life! If they are worthy to call forth the most profound astonishment and regret, how much more the proceedings of the Assembly which followed!

It must be borne in mind, that the slaveholding representatives of the church came to the Assembly expecting some action on the subject, and determined, if possible, to make it favorable to slavery. The Southern Delegation met, to the number of 48, and the following is the published result of their proceedings:—

"*Resolved*, That if the Assembly shall undertake to exercise authority on the

subject of slavery, so as to make it an immorality, or shall in any way declare that Christians are criminal in holding slaves, that a declaration shall be presented by the Southern Delegation, declining their jurisdiction in the case, and our determination not to submit to such decision.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to draw up a declaration and protest, embodying the views of this meeting on this subject, to be presented to the Assembly, on the contingency indicated in the above resolution.

"Messrs. Graham, Armistead, McFarland, Payne, and Nesbit, were appointed said committee.

"The meeting adjourned, to meet at the call of the chairman.

G. T. SNOWDON, Secretary.

At an adjourned meeting of this ecclesiastical caucus, the following preamble and resolution were adopted to be presented to the Assembly, as a substitute for those of Dr. Miller:—

"Whereas, the subject of slavery is inseparably connected with the laws of many of the states of this Union, in which it exists under the sanction of said laws and of the Constitution of the United States; and whereas, slavery is recognized in both the Old and New Testaments as an existing relation, and is not condemned by the authority of God: therefore, *Resolved*,

"The General Assembly have no authority to assume or exercise jurisdiction, in regard to the existence of slavery."

Here then we see the state of things in which the men who preside over our highest theological schools, the mints of public opinion on religious and moral subjects, would leave in quiet peace, like the stagnant sea over the slime of Sodom, the Presbyterian Church! Here is one party who petition the Assembly that the solemn decisions against slavery, of former Assemblies, repeated frequently up to the year 1818, and which have remained a dead letter on their minutes, may now at length be revived and honestly made the practical law of the Church—that a practice which was denounced year after year as a violation of the laws of God, may, with other sins, be put under the ban of the church. Another party boldly claims that American slavery, so far from being a violation of the laws of God, is sanctioned (for if their word "recognized" has less meaning, it is not to their purpose,) by the Holy Scriptures. Here, on one side, are fifty delegates claiming slavery as authorized by the Bible, and, on the other, more than that number exclaiming against it as the greatest possible outrage upon the rights of God and man. Now mark the course of the northern governing influences of the church. They say, 'Hush this controversy, brethren: let us have peace—peace above all things,—peace, though millions are crushed under our oppression, and the wrath of the Almighty gathers its thunderbolts. Give no decision, utter not a word, smother your feelings on both sides, and let us proceed in peace and har-

mony—one united church as we always have been.’ Where is the honor paid by such men to human conscience, to human reason, to the human heart—to those glorious faculties which are the image of God in the soul of man? Where is their reverence for eternal, immutable truth? Where their regard for the unity of the Spirit, and the smiles of God? Where their love for holiness without which no man shall see God? On their whole conduct stood out in staring capitals, which the world has read, that they cared not a straw for any of these things in comparison with the dignity of their stations, and the glory of their generalship in a *great church*,—be its materials what they might. The subject was finally disposed of by the following preamble and resolution, substituted for Dr. Miller’s report:

“Inasmuch as the constitution of the Presbyterian church, in its preliminary and fundamental principles declares that no church judicatory ought to pretend to make laws to bind the conscience in virtue of their own authority; and as the urgency of the business of the Assembly, and the shortness of the time during which they can continue in session, render it impossible to deliberate and decide judiciously on the subject of slavery in its relations to the church; therefore,

“*Resolved*, That this whole subject be indefinitely postponed.”

If further demonstration of the inexcusableness of slavery had been wanting, it would have been furnished to the full, in the utter confusion of thought which this vote shows to have fallen upon a majority of the Assembly, like the darkness of Egypt. After assigning as the first reason for indefinitely postponing the subject, that the Assembly was constitutionally forbidden to make laws to bind the conscience, the preamble proceeds to speak of the impossibility of *deliberation*. What! did the Assembly think that the expression of an opinion on the subject of slavery would violate the rights of conscience, and *yet* did they wish to deliberate upon it? So far as we can guess the import of this proceeding from the hieroglyphic phraseology which the Assembly saw fit to employ, it would read in plain English thus: You abolitionists ask us to pronounce slaveholding a sin; be it known to you, therefore, that whereas, by so doing we should “bind the conscience, in virtue of our own authority,” an outrage forbidden by the constitution of our church, and as we have not time to do it deliberately, therefore, Resolved, that the subject be indefinitely postponed! Too many reasons are sometimes worse than none.

But seriously, did the Assembly mean to say that they could have no higher authority than *their own*, for pro-



nouncing slavery a sin? Could they have no authority but their own, for the protection of the family relations which slavery violates? No authority but their own, to prevent their members from withholding the hire of the laborers that have reaped down their fields? No authority but their own, to protect their own members from being sold like brute beasts under the auctioneer's hammer? What! did a professedly religious body, a large majority of whose members were from the free northern states—a missionary, body which is sending the Gospel to the nations of the earth, dare to say it could not find within the lids of the Bible any authority against those heathenish laws which exclude that very Bible from two and a half millions of our countrymen? Shame. Let these modest unassuming ecclesiastics, who tremble lest they should bind the consciences of people *by their own authority*—(for want of time to do it deliberately)—go back to the records which they and their fathers put upon their minutes, in years when the price of slaves was less, and fewer Presbyterian elders and ministers were getting rich by cotton planting at the expense of the unrequited poor, than there were in 1836; and let them expunge those records as tyrannous usurpations of the rights of conscience! Conscience, that divine monitor, to which the Rev. Drs. Miller and Hoge paid so tender a regard as to counsel their brethren to smother its monitions, **FOR THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH!**

Let us turn to the doctrine rejected by the Assembly, because they had not time deliberately to bind the consciences of men by their own authority. It is contained in the resolution reported by the Rev. Messrs. Dickey and Beman, the minority of the Slavery Committee:

"1. *Resolved*, That the buying, selling, or holding of a human being as property, is in the sight of God a **HEINOUS SIN**, and ought to subject the doer of it to the censures of the church.

"2. That it is the duty of every one, and especially of every Christian, who may be involved in this sin, to free himself from its entanglement without delay.

"3. That it is the duty of every one, and especially of every Christian, in the meekness and firmness of the Gospel, to plead the cause of the poor and needy, by testifying against the principle and practice of slaveholding; and to use his best endeavors to deliver the church of God from the evil; and to bring about the emancipation of the slaves in these United States and throughout the world."

These resolutions, be it remembered, the General Assembly of 1836 set aside *for the peace of the church*, that is to say, because the church was too deeply involved in the sin to bear reproof. The testimony of the Rev. James Smylie,

a Presbyterian minister in Mississippi, and for some twenty years the stated clerk of a Presbytery, in his pamphlet in defence of slavery, shows us to what degree the christians of the South make merchandise of men :

"If slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the divine law, and if *the buying, selling, or holding a slave*, FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily, THREE-FOURTHS OF ALL THE EPISCOPALIANS, METHODISTS, BAPTISTS, AND PRESBYTERIANS, IN ELEVEN STATES OF THE UNION, are of the Devil. They 'hold,' if they do not buy and sell slaves : and, *with few exceptions*, they hesitate not to 'apprehend and restore' runaway slaves, when in their power."

This fact, let it be observed, is introduced by the Rev. Mr. Smylie, as an argument to show that holding slaves *for gain*, is not a sin ! It cannot be a sin because *three-fourths* of southern christians are in the constant practice of it ! Thus we see that the christians of the South do not take up the shield, kindly furnished them by some of their apologists at the North, they do not pretend not to hold slaves for "selfish ends." They fully bear out the arrogant claim of Governor McDuffie that man-merchandise is a divine institution. To illustrate this further we will give at length the preamble and resolutions of the Harmony Presbytery of South Carolina, passed "unanimously :"

"Whereas, sundry persons in Scotland and England, and others in the North, East, and West of our country, have denounced slavery as obnoxious to the laws of God ; some of whom have presented before the General Assembly of our church, and the Congress of the nation, memorials and petitions, with the avowed object of bringing into disgrace slaveholders, and abolishing the relation of master and slave.

"And whereas, from the said proceedings, and the statements, reasonings, and circumstances connected therewith, it is most manifest that those persons "know not what they say nor whereof they affirm ;" and with this ignorance discover a spirit of self-righteousness and exclusive sanctity, while they indulge in the most reckless denunciations of their neighbor, as false in fact as they are opposed to the spirit and dictates of our holy religion.

"Therefore, *Resolved*,

"1. That as the kingdom of our Lord is not of this world, his church as such has no right to abolish, alter or affect any institution or ordinance of men political and civil merely : nor has the church even in our midst the right to prescribe rules and dictate principles which can bind or affect the conscience with reference to slavery, and any such attempt would constitute ecclesiastical tyranny. Much less has any other church or churches, or bodies of men, ecclesiastical, civil, or political under heaven, any the slightest right to interfere in the premises.

"2. That slavery has existed from the days of those good old slaveholders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (who are now in the kingdom of heaven,) to the time when the apostle Paul sent a runaway slave home to his master Philemon, and wrote a Christian and fraternal epistle to this slaveholder, which we find still stands in the canons of the Scriptures ; and that slavery has existed ever since the days of the apostle and does now exist.

"3. That as the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the Scriptures, in the same manner as those of parent and child, and husband and wife, the existence of slavery itself is not opposed to the will of God ; and whosoever has a conscience too tender to recognize this relation as lawful, is 'righteous over much,' is 'wise above what is written,' and has submitted his neck to the yoke

of man, sacrificed his Christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men.

"4. That the relation of master and slave is purely a civil relation, and in this state no person or persons can impair, abridge, or alter that institution, save the legislature or the people of South Carolina only."

We have not a right to conclude, however, from the unanimity with which these and multitudes of similar resolutions have been passed throughout the South, that they express the real opinions of the southern churches, or that the good leaven of abolitionism has not done already a mighty work upon southern conscience. Christianity is so plainly hostile to slavery, in its doctrines and precepts, that the mass of slaveholders are prone to suspect the southern churches of giving countenance to the abolitionists, and hence have addressed to them powerful motives to commit themselves in favor of slavery. It has been in a great degree, doubtless, under the influence of threats that members of churches, and especially ministers, have become slaveholders. In the last General Methodist Conference the Rev. Dr. Capers, of South Carolina, in mentioning the reasons why, after a certain date, the Methodists became less *odious* to the people of the southern states, said, "at length people began to consider that many of them were *slaveholders*—why should they be insurrectionists?" Southern christianity is itself enslaved, and its voice is not the voice of a free agent. To give a sample of the influence under which southern christians, so called, have always acted and which has at length assumed a most peremptory tone, we quote the proceedings of "a public meeting of the inhabitants of Clinton, Mississippi," held *prior* to the last sessions of the General Assembly and General Conference :

"Slavery through the South and West, is not felt as an evil, moral or political, but it is recognized in reference to the *actual*, and not to any Utopian condition of our slaves, as a BLESSING BOTH TO MASTER AND SLAVE.

"*Resolved*, That it is our decided opinion, that any individual who dares to circulate, with a view to effectuate the designs of the abolitionists, any of the incendiary tracts or newspapers now in a course of transmission to this country, is justly worthy, in the sight of God and man, of IMMEDIATE DEATH; and we doubt not, that *such would be the punishment of any such offender in any part of the state of Mississippi, where he may be found!*

"*Resolved*, That we recommend to the citizens of Mississippi to ENCOURAGE THE CAUSE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, so long as in good faith it concentrates its energies alone to the removal of the free people of color out of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That the CLERGY of the state of Mississippi be hereby recommended at once to take a stand upon this subject, and that their *further* silence in relation thereto, at this crisis, will, in our opinion, be subject to *serious censure*."

The South has given too many proofs of her readiness to

put such threats in execution to permit them to pass unheeded by those who already loved the sin of slavery more than they feared their consciences or their God.

But that we may more clearly see the malignant influences we have to encounter, let us turn to a denomination of christians not directly connected with the South—a denomination which claims to stand foremost in benevolent enterprises for the benefit of the human race, and foremost in the liberty of the Gospel, the Congregationalists of Connecticut. The very mountains of that noble land frown upon tyranny. And those best acquainted with its well-schooled population are inclined to think them the most difficult subjects for quack management, either political or ecclesiastical. Yet, much as we are ashamed to do it, we must declare our conviction that the General Association of Connecticut, in its efforts to bar out the doctrines of our society from its precincts, has shown an adroitness of ecclesiastical tactics which may well recommend it to the holy see of the indivisible, infallible church. That body, containing within it many of the leading lights of New-England theology—men who have committed themselves, and drawn no small glory therefrom, to the scheme of African Colonization, and whose immortality seems wrapped up with the immortality of prejudice and oppression—saw with alarm the change which the doctrines of immediate emancipation were working in public, and especially in New-England opinion. The reasons of this judgment are to be found in the contrast between the Association's course on the subject of slavery, and that which honorable and ingenuous minds must have pursued.

First, the following preamble and resolutions were passed :

"Whereas the system of slavery, as defined and sustained by the laws of these United States, is contrary to the principles of the Gospel :

"And whereas the ministers and members of our churches are frequently emigrating to the slaveholding states, and whereas they are there strongly tempted to engage in the traffic in slaves, and to become upholders of the system of slavery ; Therefore,

*"Resolved,* That in the judgment of this Association, the buying and selling of human beings for selfish ends, by the ministers and members of our churches removing to the South, is a great sin, and utterly inconsistent with their Christian profession."

Till awed into the true "patriarchal" cant by the terrors of Lynch Law, a presbytery full of actual slaveholders might have passed just such resolutions, without a thought of ceasing from the robbery of the poor. They could easily purchase the reputation of sanctity by their professions

against selfishness, while they persuaded themselves that their own slaveholding was altogether benevolent. The General Association of Connecticut are too well acquainted with the proceedings of "the ministers and members of their own churches, emigrating to the slaveholding states," not to know that they generally become slaveholders by persuading themselves to buy slaves for a *benevolent purpose*. The resolution of the Association strongly implies that they may righteously do so; hence, while it was adapted to make the impression upon the people, that the Association was as much opposed to slavery as the Anti-Slavery Society, and therefore needed no lecturing from that society, it served also to put a plea in the mouths of northern slaveholders. It was ingeniously adapted to get popularity on both sides. Well aware that the conduct of northern ministers and church members who go to the South and become slaveholders, would have to stand the artillery of an Anti-Slavery public sentiment, the Association thought it good policy itself to seize the guns, and load them with bullets of cork. The reason of this severe accusation we think will appear, by attending to the fact that it was just about to adopt a resolution designed to exclude Anti-Slavery lecturers from the facilities commonly afforded by the churches to every important discussion of a moral topic. We say, designed to exclude: no one must look, however, for a formal display of arbitrary power, but rather for a cautious and guarded putting forth of well-husbanded ecclesiastical influence. That every reader may see the discreet mixing together of all the sources of popular odium, and the well-qualified generalities by which their real purpose was concealed, we give the whole series of resolutions which followed immediately after those above quoted:—

"1. *Resolved*, That while this General Association appreciate and would maintain, at all hazards, the unrestricted liberty of speech and the press, and while they fully recognize their own and every man's duty to prove all things, and their own and every man's responsibility to God, in relation to the reception of the truth, they do not admit an obligation upon the community to hear or read all that associations or individuals may volunteer to speak or print, or an obligation on the pastors of the churches to admit into their pulpits all the preachers or speakers who may desire to address the people, or in any other way, directly or indirectly, to facilitate the promulgation in the community of sentiments which are in their view of an erroneous or questionable character.

"2. *Resolved*, That the operations of itinerant agents and lecturers, attempting to enlighten the churches in respect to particular points of Christian doctrine and of Christian morals, and to control the religious sentiment of the community on topics which fall most appropriately within the sphere of pastoral instruction, and of pastoral discretion as to time and manner, *without the advice and consent*

*of the pastors and regular ecclesiastical bodies*, is an unauthorized interference with the rights, duties, and discretion of the stated ministry, dangerous to the influence of the pastoral office, and fatal to the peace and good order of the churches.

"3. *Resolved*, That the existence in the churches of an order of itinerating evangelists, devoted especially to the business of excitement, and to the promotion of revivals, cannot be reconciled with the respect and influence which are indispensable to the usefulness and stability of the stated ministry, to the harmony of ecclesiastical action in the churches, and to the steady and accumulating influence of the gospel and its institutions, and to purity in doctrine and discretion in action.

"4. *Resolved*, That regarding the present as a critical period in relation to the peace, purity, and liberty of our churches, and the efficiency of the pastoral office, we do recommend to our ministers and churches to discountenance such innovations as have been referred to in these resolutions, and we consider ourselves bound to sustain each other and the churches, in standing against all these invasions on our ecclesiastical order."

It is important to expend a little time and patience to unravel the sophistry and mischief of these famous resolutions; as they develope, to those who have eyes to see, the mode in which some great and wise men of our day hope to put down all opinions which happen to conflict with their own. It was highly politic to introduce a hush-law with a flourish about liberty of speech and the press. After that, we have a denial of the obligation of the community to hear every thing. Who ever claimed such an obligation? Nobody. Yet the authors of the first resolution put forth this generality as a soft pillow for those churches and ministers who have refused to hear what they were in conscience bound to hear. Because a minister is not under obligation to open his pulpit for the convenience of a play-actor or a preacher of paganism, it is left to be inferred that he may righteously shut from it every applicant, whatever his cause, and Anti-Slavery lecturers among the rest. It was thought not best to come down to particulars, but to establish what would operate as a general rule of exclusion.

On reaching the second of the above resolutions, the Association was prepared to launch its heaviest shaft at the abolition lecturers. Here the ecclesiastical influence was put forth in the most prudent and forcible way. An appeal was made to the respect of the people for their established ecclesiastical bodies. An alarm was sounded—not that such men as the Rev. Drs. A. and B., and the Rev. Mr. C., would lose their influence if abolition lecturers were permitted "to enlighten the churches" "*without the advice and consent of the pastors and regular ecclesiastical bodies*;" but that the "*pastoral office*" was endangered! Happy abstraction! Judicious exaltation of the cloth in place of

the men ! How immeasurably would the dignity and force of the resolution have suffered, by inserting, instead of stated ministry, the names A., B., C., D., &c., of the stated ministers ! But what was meant by this general phylactery of the "pastoral office" ? The operations of agents, without the advice of pastors or the regular ecclesiastical bodies, would be "unauthorized" *by them* of course ; but is theirs the sole authority for addressing men as men, in any given territory ? Did the Association mean to say that it is *wrong* for an agent to attempt "to enlighten the churches" within the geographical boundaries of one of its pastorates or ecclesiastical bodies, without first obtaining leave ? This would certainly be a step towards the infallibility of the Congregational church—an infallibility which the movers of these resolutions, as rational men, well knew the abolition lecturers would be in no haste to acknowledge. It is difficult to understand what the authors of it meant or expected to effect by this qualified, guarded, and solemn warning against "itinerant agents," but to prevent them from getting inside the Congregational meeting houses, leaving it to the authorities of the grog-shops to take care of them outside. On the third resolution we have nothing to say, except to mark its connection with the preceding. It was important to throw in a large category of obnoxious subjects, and mix them well together, so that the odium which anywhere or with any persons attached to one, might attach to all. The fourth resolution is a solemn recommendation to the churches to oppose, shoulder to shoulder, *all* those invasions upon "ecclesiastical order" which had been so luminously described in the preceding "resolutions." If the Association had not meant to involve in this magniloquent anathema Anti-Slavery lecturers, they would certainly have excepted them. Hence, we derive the important information, that, in case an agent of this society goes into any town in Connecticut, and, without getting the consent of the pastor or some regular ecclesiastical body, (whether he applies for it or not,) has the presumption to make an attempt in a private house, school-house, or barn, to throw some light upon the people, and among the rest upon the church, in regard to slavery, he is guilty of an invasion of the ecclesiastical order of the Congregational church ! We have taken some pains to interpret the hieroglyphics of this matter, that the

good people of Connecticut may see the strictness and sacredness of the enclosure in which they are shut up.\*

But, in sober earnest, let us inquire what course honest Christian men and Christian ministers ought to have taken. First, believing slavery inconsistent with the Gospel, they ought to have pronounced it a sin to buy and sell men under any pretence whatever. Knowing that the cry of millions has gone up to heaven, and that the thunderbolts of God can wait but little longer, they ought to have urged the churches under their pastoral administration most anxiously, prayerfully, and without delay, to inquire their duty and do it—to welcome light from every quarter—to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. If they were satisfied that the American Anti-Slavery Society was wrong in its doctrines or measures, they should have plainly said so, and given their reasons—they should have been ready to discuss the matter before their people, and have it intelligently settled, so that the peace of the church might stand firm upon the foundation of known truth, and not depend upon the amount of ignorance which may be maintained within the palings of ecclesiastical supervision.

Let it not be supposed that we undervalue the “pastoral office,” or set ourselves up as oracles of wisdom, worthy to control “by our own authority” the incumbents of that office. We rather “name it filled with solemn awe,” as the most effectual safeguard of virtue ever established; and it is because we so regard it, and because the duty of the pulpit, in relation to slavery, seems to us perfectly within the range of common honesty to decide, that we have felt constrained to become the mouth of the down-trodden millions, to pour the rebuke of their poor murdered hearts upon the men who have turned God’s institution of choicest mercy into an instrument of tyranny and wrong. There never was a claim more touching, or more imperative upon the sympathy and power of the Christian pulpit, than that of our brethren and sisters under the iron yoke of Southern bondage. Surely, the ministry of that Saviour who took the part of the houseless widow against the long-prayer-making hypocrites of his day, with all the sympathies of

\* It is worthy of record, that a large number of ministers in Connecticut held these proceedings in just contempt, and refused to read the resolutions to their people.



his overflowing heart, should have been the first to raise their voices for the bought and sold victims of modern oppression; *they* should have been the first to take the part of their divine master's representatives trembling on the stand of the auctioneer, and quivering with the anguish of severed heart-strings. The Christian ministry, in the person of Christ himself, was the direct and fearless advocate of truth and suffering humanity, on all occasions, and under all circumstances; and it was designed to be so to the end of time. It was never meant to be the tool of selfish policy, or the ladder of ambition. It was never meant to be turned into a fashionable conscience-soother, for the exclusive use of genteel worshippers of mammon, doing their weekly penance to God in cushioned pews. The true minister of Christ is the noblest style of human nature: His heart is large enough to hold the entire brotherhood of man. When he sees a brother made the victim of wrong, he flies to his side, and is ready to receive the stabs in his own breast. His mind seeks only for truth. There is no intellectual adversary with whom he fears to cope, for he is principled to yield to every fair conviction of reason, come from what quarter the evidence may, as to the voice of God. *He* seek to fence out by authority certain opinions from his flock? *he* afraid for the dignity and stability of his pastoral office, if somebody else should attempt to instruct his people? "Never," he would indignantly reply: "even to my pulpit, on all proper occasions, I welcome the discussion of every subject within the scope of the Gospel. By truth, I cannot but be aided and blessed, even if it should cost me humiliation and repentance; and if the winged insects of error can fly into my pulpit and not singe their sooty pinions, then hath the candle of the Lord never been lighted in it. If, above all things, the purity, and ardor, and efficiency of my advocacy of the oppressed, does not so put to shame the zeal of quack pretenders, as to make my pulpit the last place they would ask to stand in, I will descend from it as unfit for its sacred responsibilities. What business have I, who pretend to be a teacher of truth, either to shrink from scrutiny, or to suffer error to mock me in my very citadel, and triumphantly to defy the armies of the living God? Has the temper failed from my spiritual weapons, that I should ensconce myself in brick and mortar? Let God send upon his people poverty and reproach, blasting and

mildew, famine and the sword; but oh! let him spare them the curse of a feeble, time-serving ministry, cowering from the contest of free discussion, and nursing their craven hearts behind the ramparts of ecclesiastical order."

What wonder is it that in a land where men and women are raised as a commodity for the market, and the greatest and most profitable internal traffic is that in human flesh, and the great body of moral and religious teachers are dumb if not blind to the sin, the efforts of abolitionists should be opposed by brute force?

The history of the past year, like that of the preceding, shows that mobs are the direct fruit of a northern defence of slavery. They stand in place of the arguments which should support those ecclesiastical proceedings on which we have already dwelt. They are resorted to, whenever it is supposed that abolitionism is too weak to turn them to its own account,—but however sanguine the hopes of the instigators, they have never failed to end in disappointment.

It is little to be wondered that mob-law should reign paramount in the slave states. All the statute laws in favor of slavery are virtually mob-laws, being founded in the principle that might makes right. The mobocratic proceedings in the state of Missouri, in the year 1836, can excite the surprise only of those who are ignorant of the nature of slavery. An affray occurred in the city of St. Louis in which a civil officer was slain by a colored man. The criminal was imprisoned for trial. His crime itself was not of so aggravated or extraordinary a nature as to induce his fellow-citizens to anticipate the certain vengeance of the law, but his color rendered it more than they could bear. A mob hurried to the prison, broke it open, and with savage yells chained the prisoner to a tree and roasted him to cinders! The character of the city seemed to require a legal investigation, and accordingly the matter was brought, by a judge, very significantly named Lawless, to the notice of the Grand Jury. In his charge to the jury the judge used the following remarkable language:

"I have reflected much on this matter, and after weighing all the considerations that bear upon it, I feel it my duty to state my opinion to be, that, whether the Grand Jury shall act at all depends upon the solution of this preliminary question, whether the destruction of McIntosh was the act of the '*few*,' or the act of the *many*."

The natural consequence of this judicial approbation and sanction of mob-law, was, not only that the murderers of

McIntosh went unpunished, but that the only press in St. Louis, which dared to question the rightfulness of mob-supremacy, was torn to pieces, and its editor, the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, was obliged to flee to a free state. Freedom of opinion was also trampled under foot in Marion College. The Rev. Dr. Nelson, a most excellent clergyman, a native of the South and once himself a slaveholder, with all others who were known to be opposed to slavery, and refused to bow the knee to its "dark spirit," were banished from the state on pain of torture and death.\* But how miserable the

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\* The occasion of the outrage upon Dr. Nelson, was an occurrence at a religious meeting which is thus described by a correspondent of the New-York Journal of Commerce, and believed to be substantially correct:

"At the close of the meeting Col. Muldrow handed a paper to Dr. Nelson to read, proposing to subscribe \$10,000 himself and asking others to subscribe, to indemnify masters for their slaves when government should think proper to abolish slavery in that way. Upon this a Dr. Bosley came forward, abusing Dr. Nelson, and charging him with being the cause of all the disturbance. Colonel Muldrow then proclaimed himself the author of the paper, and that he, if any one, was to blame. An altercation immediately ensued between them, during which Bosley struck Muldrow with his cane. After receiving the blows, Muldrow drew his knife, opened it deliberately, and laid it at full length in the palm of his hand. Bosley then drew a pistol, and snapped it at Muldrow, and then attacked him with a sword cane. Muldrow immediately closed with him, and in the scuffle Bosley was stabbed under the shoulder, the knife entering his lungs."

The mob now broke loose in full fury. At the earnest request of his friends Dr. Nelson fled, with his family, to Illinois. Subsequently one of his sons returned to take care of his property, and was seized with a fever. This brought his father to his bedside, where, while watching over his delirious ravings, with the anxiety of a fond parent, he received the following epistles, signed, the first by twenty-five, and the last by ninety names of the principal men of the place.

"DR. NELSON,—Sir, We, the Citizens of Palmyra, having understood that you passed through our town this day; thus openly disregarding the instructions heretofore given you, and your positive pledge to obey, immediately convened for the purpose of following you and inflicting on you such punishment as your conduct as an abolitionist and disturber of our peace deserves. But having afterwards learned that you had been sent for to see an afflicted son, have adopted this means as the most proper on such an occasion.

"This will be delivered you by Messrs. Richardson and Johnson, who are instructed to inform you that unless you immediately leave this county, never to appear here again, you may expect to receive such treatment as the feelings of an outraged community may dictate. WILLIAM BLAKELY, *Pres't.*"

"*Resolved,* That we, the citizens of Palmyra and Marion County, whose names are hereunto subscribed, present to Dr. David Nelson the following letter as an expression of their views and determination:

"DR. DAVID NELSON,—Sir, We are satisfied after the transaction of recent events, of which you have borne a conspicuous part, that your residence among us is incompatible with the peace of our community, we are satisfied that you must be continued to be regarded as an object of distrust and of danger; we had believed that you yourself were impressed with this conviction and had determined to leave our borders, still we find you returning into the bosom of our society, and, as we are informed, expressing a determination to abide with us at your option. This can never be; we will not disturb you while watching over the illness of your child—but when that illness shall have been determined, we insist upon your departure from our state not to return, we hope that you may on reflection concur with us in the propriety and necessity of your departure, but however this may

guilty peace which the slaveholders have purchased by this high-handed tyranny. Mr. Lovejoy has re-established his press at Alton, in the state of Illinois, and is doing ten times

be, we feel it our duty to assure you that our abiding determination is to accomplish this object."

Mr. A. C. Garratt, one of the exiles, gives the following account of his treatment by the mob:

"My case was then held up for investigation. Lawyer Wright was appointed spokesman. On his calling for the manner of punishment, some proposed tar and feathers, others 100 lashes, others to take me to Palmyra, and keep me there until night, then daub me with tar, and burn me with the books. Mr. W. finally made a proposition, to which they agreed, which was, that I must either receive 150 lashes, or leave the state. But when they found I preferred the lashes to being driven from the state, they would not let that stand, but made another, which was, that I must have 150 lashes *well laid on*, and if I lived through it, I must lose my life if found within the bounds of the state after the following Saturday. Seeing that it was impossible for me to accomplish any thing under these circumstances within the state, I concluded to leave it. Upon these grounds they released me, taking the books with them, which I wished them to read, and added, I hoped they would do them good. But before we separated, Mr. Wright was appointed to reprimand me. After he was done, I wished to defend myself by a reply. But they all cried out, 'We won't hear him.'"

The man who was thus stripped of his rights as an American citizen was of most estimable and upright character. His trustworthiness may be judged from his being the superintendent of the Marion College farm. After the banishment of Mr. Garratt and his companion Mr. Williams, also connected with the College, "a public meeting of the citizens of Palmyra, and of Marion County, assembled, pursuant to notice, on Saturday, May 21, 1836," at which the following, among other resolutions, was passed:

"*Be it therefore Resolved*, That we approve the recent conduct of a portion of our citizens towards Messrs. Garratt and Williams (two avowed advocates and missionaries of abolition) who came among us to instruct our slaves to rebellion by the use of incendiary pamphlets, by pictorial representations of imagined cruelty, and by other artful appeals to their passions, eminently calculated to weaken the obligations of their obedience, as characterized by that decision, mildness and dignity, which become a people acting on the principle of self-defence."

The following from the minutes of the same meeting deserves to be placed on record to show both the tyranny of slavery, and the horrible guilt to which what is called "benevolent" slaveholding necessarily leads.

"S. W. B. Cannegy, Esq., then rose and remarked, that as some degree of excitement existed in this community in relation to the connexion of Marion College with the views and designs of abolitionists, and as some evidence of an unfriendly feeling had manifested itself towards the principles of that institution, which he believed was founded in a mistaken opinion of the sentiments and action of these gentlemen upon this subject, he would therefore move, that the Rev. E. S. Ely, one of the professors in Marion College, be requested to state to this meeting his opinion, and the future course of conduct of that institution upon the subject of abolition—which was unanimously adopted.

"Dr. Ely rose and addressed the meeting. He said, that it was with pleasure he was able to deny all participation with the abolitionists of the North, either in opinion or action—that he was not now, and never had been, a favorer of the doctrine—that he regarded slavery as an evil, which could only be destroyed by legislative action, and he viewed those men who are now creating this excitement, as deficient in philanthropy and piety—that he was the absolute owner of one slave, and was at present contracting for others; and that all publications which in any degree connected him with abolition, were without his knowledge or consent."

Having accepted the humble submission of Dr. Ely, the meeting proceeded to

more against slavery than before.\* Dr. Nelson, while preaching against slavery in Illinois, makes more converts to abolition in Missouri than he did before. And those

receive that of Marion College, in which the faculty declare that to be "illegal" which this very meeting had just declared to be contrary to no law.

"On motion of Henry Willcox, Esq., it was resolved, that John Roach be requested to read to this meeting a series of resolutions which were passed by the faculty of Marion College, on Friday, May 20, 1836.

"Mr. Roach then read the following extract from the records of the College :

"The faculty of Marion College utterly disapprove, as unchristian and illegal, the circulation of all books, pamphlets and papers, calculated to render the slave population of this state discontented.

"They utterly condemn any interference with rights guaranteed by the state of Missouri to the owners of slaves. They will therefore consider the following acts, on the part of any of the students of the College, fit subjects for discipline :

1st. The interference of any student in any of the families around us, by conversation with slaves or any remarks intended for the ear of the slaves, which may be in their nature calculated to produce discontent. 2d. The circulating of any pamphlets or other publications for the purpose of exciting the minds of blacks, and endangering the peace and security of the community. 3d. The holding of any meeting for the purpose of discussing the subject of slavery, at which blacks may be present. 4th. Instructing any slave to read without the consent of his owner being first expressed in writing. 5th. And inasmuch as concord, peace and freedom from all excitement, is essential to the prosecution of literary pursuits, we do hereby forbid all discussions and public meetings amongst the students, upon the subject of domestic slavery.

"I certify the foregoing resolutions and laws, to be a true extract from the records of the faculty of Marion College. S. C. McCONNELL.

\* Since his removal to Alton, Mr. Lovejoy has used the following language in a reply to an article in the *Maine Christian Mirror* :

It has been, and still is, to me a source of great grief, to witness the course which you, brother Cummings, together with the editors of the *Vermont Chronicle*, the *Boston Recorder*, and the *New York Observer*, have pursued on the subject of slavery. These are all brethren, whom, (though I have not the happiness to know them personally,) I highly respect. Separately, and together, you wield an incalculable moral influence, and I need not say, that your responsibilities are correspondingly great. These brethren will, I am sure, pardon me, if I speak seriously, and in earnest, on this subject, for I speak in behalf of more than two millions of my fellow-beings, who are not permitted to open their mouths to plead their own cause. And I therefore tell you plainly, that you seem to me not at all to have understood your responsibilities, in relation to the subject of slavery, or else to have trifled with them in a manner truly awful. I have seen the "*Mirror*," once and again, give the subject the go-by, with a dry joke or a half-concealed sarcasm, which none understand how to use better than he; I have seen the "*Recorder*" and the "*Chronicle*," with column after column of their pages occupied by their acute and logical-minded editors, in reasoning coldly about sin and slavery in the abstract, when the living and awful reality was before them and around them; disputing about words and terms, and the precise amount of guilt, even to the twentieth part of a scruple, to be attached to this or that slave-holder, as coolly, and with as much indifference, as if no manacled slaves stood before them, with uplifted hands and streaming eyes, beseeching them to knock off their galling, soul-corroding chains. I have seen the "*New-York Observer*" publish,

who think the fire of abolition is extinguished in Missouri itself, are much mistaken.

But when we read the history of anti-abolition, or rather anti-free-discussion, mobs in our own *free states*, there is good cause for astonishment, and, especially, when we see that these mobs are always the work of the wealthiest and best informed class of society. The mob which occurred last summer in Cincinnati, so well illustrates both the nature and tendency of these outrages against liberty and law, that we need dwell on no other.

The *Philanthropist*, edited by James G. Birney, Esq., a native of Kentucky, and not long since a slaveholder in the state of Alabama, was established at New Richmond, a village on the Ohio, twenty miles above Cincinnati, in January, 1836. About the middle of April, of the same year, it was removed to Cincinnati, and there published without molestation till the 12th of July. Its columns were held open to the advocates of slavery and opponents of abolition, and though fully and unflinchingly advocating the doctrines of this society, it could never be reproached for want of forbearance and courtesy in its language. Even its enemies were obliged to concede that its *mode* of conducting the discussion was perfectly unexceptionable. At midnight, on the 12th of July, the printing office of the *Philanthropist* was entered by a band of conspirators, and considerable damage done to the press and types. Threats were thrown out of a repetition of the outrage, in a more serious manner, unless the publication was abandoned. The mayor of the city, S. W. Davies, in offering a small sum, placed in his hands by a citizen for that purpose, as a reward for the apprehension and conviction of the conspirators, took occasion to add,

"And I do earnestly entreat those persons whose proceedings, it is alledged, have prompted to the commission of the riot complained of, as they value the quiet of the city, to abstain from the further prosecution of such measures as may have a tendency to inflame the public mind, and lead to acts of violence and disorder, in contempt of the laws and disgraceful to the city."

The pro-slavery presses of the city as a natural consequence, opened in full cry upon the devoted editor of the

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week after week, and send to its hundred thousand readers, the most partial and injurious representations of the characters and motives of those engaged in freeing the slave from bondage, while its columns have been hermetically sealed to all reply or confutation. And, as I have seen these things, I have asked myself, how long, oh! how long, shall these beloved, but mistaken brethren continue to abuse their influence, pervert the truth, and retard the salvation of the slave?

Philanthropist. Handbills were posted at the street corners offering a reward for his delivery, as a fugitive from justice, to "Old Kentucky." The muckworms of trade were invoked against him as "injuring the prospects of the city," and all true patriots, as a disturber of the "glorious union." But he went on undismayed. On the 21st of July, a very remarkable meeting was called in a still more remarkable manner, by a card which deserves to be put on the page of history, as one of the facts which may go to settle the question whether this is a free country.

#### PUBLIC MEETING.

"A meeting of the citizens is requested on Saturday evening next, at 6 o'clock, at the Lower Market House, in Cincinnati, to decide whether they will *permit* the publication or distribution of Abolition papers in this city. It is requested that Nicholas Longworth, Jacob Burnet, Morgan Neville, David Loring, John C. Wright, John P. Foote, Charles Tatem, Anthony Harkness, David T. Disney, Charles Ross, David Griffin, A. L. Vorhees, Wm. Phillips, Hamilton Lyon, Thomas W. Bakewell, Archibald Irwin, John H. Groesbeck, Josiah Lawrence, Robert Buchanan, Jabez Reynolds, Sanders Hartsborne, Geo. W. Neff, William Burke, Benjamin Urner, Wm. Greene, Samuel Perry, Geo. P. Torrence, Joseph Gest, Wright Smith, Lewis Shoveley, Joseph Talbot, Dr. Whitman, Allen Wilson, Archibald Gordon, John Leatherbury, John Wicks, James Goodloe, Willis Tatem, Jacob Strader, Samuel Talbot, Jacob Resor, and R. F. L'Hommiedieu be a committee to prepare resolutions and submit the same to the meeting, that shall fairly and decisively be a test of the people, it being alleged that there is a settled determination existing in an overwhelming majority of the citizens to put down the alleged evil by FORCE if admonitions are found insufficient. The peace of our city requires that the voice of the community be known."

The meeting was held according to call, and being at a convenient hour\* for the multitudes of persons in the employ of the callers, was numerously attended. A distinguished citizen, postmaster of the city, and minister of the Gospel, presided over it. The preamble adopted by the meeting, deprecated the "existence of slavery as a great evil," but denounced the abolitionists as injuring their "business and prosperity;" recognized "the constitutional right of liberty

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\* The Editor of the Cincinnati Gazette, who stood by the right of free discussion during this storm, says of this call:—This it must be noted is rather a new mode of calling a town meeting. Here is the explanation. Nicholas Longworth, Morgan Neville, and some others of the committee named, came to a determination, that the abolition paper should be put down, '*peaceably if it could, forcibly if it must.*' They devised the plan of this meeting. Without consulting them, the names of some of the most respectable men of the city were set down on the Committee. The meeting was appointed at the hour when most of those who labor in the foundries and ship-yards, and elsewhere, would be discharged from labor for the week, and at a place convenient for their assembling. It was anticipated that most of the gentlemen named, would commit themselves to the object of the meeting by remaining silent, either from real apprehension, or from repugnance to controversy. The anticipation was verified.

of speech and of the press, in its utmost extent," but felt it duty to utter a warning voice to those concerned in the promulgation of abolition doctrines. This warning the meeting proceeded to utter in a string of minatory resolutions, from which we extract three, the last of which threatens and justifies a resort to the *ultima ratio*, the doctrine of revolution—a rebellion against law to secure the peace and permanency of a government !\*

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting nothing short of the absolute discontinuance of the publication of the said abolition paper in this city, can prevent a resort to violence, which may be as disastrous to its publisher and supporters, as it must be to the good order and fair fame of our city."

"*Resolved*, That we will use all lawful means to discountenance and suppress every publication in this city which advocates the modern doctrines of abolitionism."

"*Resolved*, That we entertain the most profound respect for the memories of the venerated Patriots of more than "sixty years since" who in the harbor of Boston, *without* the sanction of law, but in the plenitude of the justness of their cause took the responsibility of *re-shipping* the Tea Cargo, and for which illegal act they were entitled to and did receive the warmest thanks and gratitude of every lover of good order and well-wisher of his country—and that we in imitation of the noble and fearless example set us by those true-hearted Americans, declare that whenever we shall find an existing evil—wicked and mischievous in its conceptions—warring against the best interests and happiness of our common country by its effects—aiming at the destruction and disunion of our happy government; and not only prompted and sustained by those untiring engines of human ambition, hope of gain and love of notoriety—but shielded from legal enactment according to the usual practice of our laws so as to leave us but one channel through which we can rid our fair land from its withering influence, that in seizing that one tangible point our exertions shall be firm, united, and decided."

\* The first of the resolutions, all of which passed *unanimously*, is as follows :—

"*Resolved*, That the spirit exhibited by the immediate supporters of the abolition press in this city, is entirely at variance with the feelings and opinions of the great mass of our population, is as unjust to our sister states, as it is prejudicial to our own quiet and prosperity."

Now, the Vice President of this meeting was also a member of the Central Texian Committee of Cincinnati, and was probably present with others of his Market House compeers at a "Texas Meeting," of a previous date, at which the following resolutions were passed *unanimously* :—

"That, we regard every war designed for the subversion of Tyranny and establishment of Liberty, as a *holy* war, entitled to the strong sympathy and ardent support of every freeman."

"That all laws, international or domestic, having a tendency to enslave mankind, or any portion of the human family, are unnatural, a libel upon Heaven—and, being instruments enacted 'by tyrants,' for their own benefit, ought not to be recognized by freemen as an obstacle preventing them from lending their assistance to the *Texians, or any other people struggling for liberty.*"



The meeting also appointed a Committee of thirteen persons, "to wait upon James G. Birney and his associates," to remonstrate with them, request them to desist from the publication of their paper, and to warn them that if they persisted the meeting could not hold themselves "responsible for the consequences." That it may be seen who the persons were that permitted themselves to be sent on this unrighteous and unconstitutional errand we give their names and characters as stated in the Cincinnati Gazette, adding that *eight* of the thirteen were members of Christian churches.

*Jacob Burnet*—He is known as a man of wealth, a lawyer of the first eminence, a Supreme Judge, a Senator in Congress, a citizen of extensive influence.

*Josiah Lawrence*—A merchant of high character, and President of the Lafayette Bank.

*Robert Buchanan*—Also a merchant of high reputation—late President of the Commercial Bank of Cincinnati.

*Nicholas Longworth*—A lawyer, retired from practice—the most extensive property holder in the city.

*Oliver M. Spencer*—A Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a man of wealth, and highly esteemed in the city.

*David Loring*—A large property holder, one of the most enterprising and active business men of the city.

*David T. Disney*—Has been a member of both Houses of the Ohio Legislature, and Speaker of both; an influential politician, conversant with the interests of the city, and extensively engaged in business.

*Thomas W. Bakewell*—A wealthy and highly respectable merchant.

*John P. Foote and William Green*—Gentlemen of Intelligence and wealth, and proprietors of a large stock in the Cincinnati Water Works. No men stand better in society.

*William Burke*—Postmaster of the city, and a Minister of the Gospel.

*Morgan Neville*—Known throughout the country, and esteemed wherever he is known.

*Timothy Walker*—A respectable lawyer; one of the law lecturers in the Cincinnati College.

Here is a fair exposition of the real instigators, the life and soul of the Cincinnati riot. This appointment was made on the 23d of the month. The Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, under whose direction the Philanthropist is published, not feeling very deeply their responsibility to the censors of the press thus appointed over them, exercised the patience of the Market House Committee till the evening of the 28th, when they admitted them to a conference at the house of one of their members. The dignified judge and senator, at the head of the Market House Committee, dwelt on the inexpressible excitement against the abolition press and the importance of a prompt

decision. The business of the city, threatened by the doctrines of equal rights, was also held up, the loss of southern customers with their slaves from the hotels and boarding houses, &c. On their part, the abolitionists offered to discuss the whole subject with any man or men, in public. But the Market House Committee would hear of nothing but the "discontinuance of the Philanthropist—and total silence on the subject of slavery." As the only alternative, in case of refusal, they threatened or predicted, it seems of little consequence which, "a MOB—unusual in its numbers, determined in its purpose, and desolating in its ravages."\* The chairman expressed it as his opinion, that it would be one of unprecedented character—that it would consist of *four or five thousand persons*, bent on the wide destruction of property, and *that two-thirds of the property-holders of the city would join it*. That it would be utterly vain for any man or set of men to attempt to restrain it—it would destroy any one who would set himself in opposition to it." The Market House gentlemen being asked whether if a mob could be averted, *they* would be willing the Philanthropist should be continued, the chairman and several others promptly answered, *they would not*. The abolitionists were allowed till the next day at noon to give their final answer whether they would discontinue the Philanthropist, when they not only returned a negative, but a number of solid reasons for sticking to their constitutional right. For this heroism of the eight men who composed the Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, worthy of as many statues of gold, the dignified embassy from the Market House were doubtless ill prepared. It now only remained for them to rally their wretched tools and having filled them with lies and liquor, carry into execution their bootless threat, the best way they could. The ambassadors resigned their commission in season for the next morning papers; the tocsin was sounded, at 6 o'clock on the evening of the 30th, a mob was regularly organized, with chairman and secretary, and resolved first that the press should be destroyed and the types thrown into the street, and secondly that Mr. Birney should be notified to

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\* Narrative of the late Riotous Proceedings against the Liberty of the Press in Cincinnati, &c., page 35.

leave the city in twenty-four hours. A little after dark the work was commenced, the types were scattered, the press broken and thrown into the Ohio, and the office thoroughly pillaged. The mob then proceeded to the houses of Mr. Birney and others, but not finding their prey turned their fury upon the houses of some poor colored people. Here they met with resistance that somewhat cooled their zeal, and at length, at about midnight, they were dismissed by the worthy Mayor, with the following truly paternal speech:\*

"Gentlemen—It is now late at night, and time we were all in bed—by continuing longer, you will disturb the citizens, or deprive them of their rest, besides robbing yourselves of rest. No doubt, it is your intention to punish the guilty, and leave the innocent. But if you continue longer, you are in danger of punishing the innocent with the guilty, which I am convinced no one in Cincinnati would wish to do. We have done enough for one night. ["three cheers for the Mayor."] The abolitionists themselves, must be convinced by this time, what public sentiment is, and that it will not do any longer to disregard, or set it at naught. [three cheers again] As you cannot punish the guilty without endangering the innocent, I advise you all to go home. [Cries of home! home! from the crowd drowned the balance of his harangue.]"

This mob, so dignified and distinguished in its leaders, was destined to be no less remarkable in its results. It multiplied Abolitionists in Ohio and throughout the free states; it enlarged the patronage of the Philanthropist, and gave it a more secure home in Cincinnati; and it stamped the seal of infamy and political reprobation upon all who were known as its instigators. The day was short in which they dared to glory in their deed, and it will never return.f

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\* Reported by a gentleman present.

† Mobocrats have frequently, during the year, felt the salutary operations of law. The following is a copy of a paper signed by five young men, who were the leaders in a mob in Washington, Pa., in June last, when Mr. Gould and the audience were violently assailed during lecture.

They were indicted; and on the eve of trial they prepared a compromise, which was agreed to, the paper entered on record, and the nolle prosequi executed.

(copy.)

Commonwealth,	} We, the undersigned, defendants in case, being now sensible of the gross impropriety of our conduct in the breach of the peace, and in any and all the acts of violence which were perpetrated towards the members of the Washington Anti-Slavery Society, and the audience assembled at the Cumberland Presbyterian meeting-house, on the evening of the 21st of June last, thus publicly express our sorrow and regret, for any participation which either of us may have had in the transactions on that occasion. We also hold as true, in every instance, that the laws of the land ought not, and cannot be violated with impunity. If the prosecution be withdrawn, we agree to repair all damages to the meeting-house, and pay the costs of prosecution.
vs.	
James Ruple, jr.	
H. W. Sample,	
Joseph Dillow,	
Jas. O. Willson,	
Win. Sloan.	

H. W. Sample,  
James R. Ruple,  
Joseph Dillow,  
James Orr Willson,  
William Sloan.

It would altogether transcend the limits of a report to notice the innumerable outrages of peace and good order which have been resorted to in the free states, to support the cause of slavery, and put down free discussion. But we will notice two most brutal assaults which have been committed upon Northern citizens at the South. How long will Northern men disgrace themselves by bootless violence in behalf of states in which even they could only travel at the peril of their lives? No northern man is safe at the South, against whom it is possible for the most jealous slaveholder to entertain a suspicion.

Aaron W. Kitchell, a citizen of New-Jersey, of respectable connections, a graduate of Princeton college, and licentiate of the Theological Seminary, while travelling at the South, was brought before a meeting of the citizens of Hillsborough, Georgia, on the 8th of June, 1836. The proceedings, as given by a correspondent of the Newark Daily Advertiser, show the treatment he received.

"Cuthbert Reese, Esq. was appointed Chairman, and Dr. A. T. Ridley, Secretary. Wm. Phillips, Esq. having stated the object of the meeting, a committee was sent for Dr. R. Thomas, who was said to be in possession of facts to confirm the intelligence that Kitchell had been holding communication with the black population. Dr. Thomas accordingly came forward, and confirmed the statements set forth in the letters. Kitchell was then taken and examined, and *failing to give any satisfactory account of himself*, on motion of Col. F. N. White, the following committee of twelve was appointed to report a course of proceeding, viz.: Isaac T. Moreland, Wm. Phillips, Wilkins Jackson, Dr. R. C. Clayton, Thomas J. Smith, Col. White, Joseph C. White, Major Weekes, A. Alexander, John G. Morris, E. C. Butt, James Johnson, Esq.

The Committee retired, and after deliberation made the following report, which was *unanimously* adopted, viz.:

The Committee to whom was referred the case of the Rev. A. W. Kitchell, report—That upon examination, they find sundry certificates and other papers of a suspicious and spurious character, and have thought proper to retain the same in the hands of the secretary until further information is obtained concerning them.

The Committee would advise that said Kitchell should be rode around the village on a rail, with a band of all kinds of music playing the Rogue's March—that his head should then be tarred and feathered, and again rode round the village as before—that he should also leave the state within ten days from this time, under the penalty of Lynch's Law.

Upon motion, it was *Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the public gazettes of Milledgeville, with a request that they be republished in all papers opposed to the fiend-like purposes of Northern Abolitionists.

CUTHBERT REESE, Chairman.

Robert A. T. Ridley, Secretary.

A further Committee was appointed, informally, I understand, to carry out the recommendation adopted by the meeting. Poor Kitchell was accordingly stripped, his head shaved, and a covering of tar and feathers substituted, and he carried about the town to the music of the Callithumpian band."

The suspicion of abolitionism proved altogether false; otherwise, it is probable Mr. Kitchell would have atoned for

his crime by the forfeit of his life. Three of the honorable citizens engaged in this outrage, *Ira E. Dupree, H. H. Tarver, and Henry Bunn*, have endeavored to vindicate their conduct by a public statement, in which they say—

"He was frequently heard of many miles from his place of abode, amongst the black population; and was, in one of his nocturnal and secret excursions,—with, no doubt, the fiendish intent to excite an insurrection,—discovered in the negro yard of a gentleman residing five miles from his residence, and actually refused to discover himself until CHASED DOWN BY DOGS."

Mr. John Hopper, a respectable young merchant of New-York, was attacked by a mob in the city of Savannah, on the suspicion of his being an Abolitionist. His private papers were searched, and preparations were made by a crowd of half-intoxicated, blaspheming ruffians, to put him to death. By almost a miracle, he was rescued by the civil authorities, and lodged in prison for safe keeping. Not the slightest evidence appearing that he was an Abolitionist, he was permitted by the Mayor to escape. To the mere lack of proof that he was what every citizen has both a moral and constitutional right to be, he doubtless owes his life.

The Abolitionists defy the world to show that they have used any other than lawful, constitutional means; yet the bare suspicion of Abolitionism is a sufficient pretext in one-half the country for rushing over the guaranties of the Constitution, and committing brutal outrage upon the unoffending citizens of the other half. It is slavery, and not the Constitution, which governs the United States at the present time.

That it may more clearly be seen that it is the lash of the slave-driver which has reached over into the free states, to frighten the sons of pilgrim and revolutionary fathers out of their freedom of speech, and the preachers of the Gospel out of the tracks of Paul into those of Demas, let us trace the bloody instrument home, and see what it is doing there. Let us see whether the cases of Amos Dresser, Aaron W. Kitchell, and John Hopper, are any thing more than ordinary exhibitions of its doings in the land of its undisputed reign. The real character of plantation discipline, slaveholders are always anxious to conceal, yet the hardness of heart begotten by the fearful secrets cannot but reveal some of them. Said the Hon. B. Swain, of North Carolina, in 1830—

"Let any man of spirit and feeling for a moment cast his thoughts over this land of slavery—think of the nakedness of some, the hungry yearnings of others, the flowing tears and heaving sighs of parting relations, the wailings and wo,

the bloody cut of the keen lash, and the frightful scream that rends the very skies—and all this to gratify ambition, lust, pride, avarice, vanity, and other depraved feelings of the human heart. . . . **THE WORST IS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN.** Were all the miseries, the horrors of slavery, to burst at once into view, a peal of seven-fold thunder could scarce strike greater alarm."

Yet, strong as are the motives, and abundant as is the opportunity for concealment, outrage enough to justify the interference of all mankind might be proved from the testimony of the southern papers of the past year themselves. We give from some of them, and other credible sources, the following

#### CHAPTER OF ABOMINATIONS.

*Flogging to Death.*—A negro, the property of Mr. John Skinner, of Society Hill, S. C., was flogged by his overseer, one Bill Schenck, on the 25th ult., in such a severe manner, that he died the same evening. Schenck was examined before a justice, and discharged.—*Southern paper.*

AIKEN, So. Ca., Dec. 20, 1836.

*To the Editors of the Constitutional:*

I have just returned from an inquest I held over the dead body of a negro man, a runaway, that was shot near the South Edisto, in this District, (Barnwell,) on Saturday morning last. He came to his death by his own recklessness. He refused to be taken alive; and said that other attempts to take him had been made, and he was determined that he would not be taken. When taken, he was nearly naked—had a large dirk or knife, and a heavy club. He was, at first, (when those who were in pursuit of him found it absolutely necessary,) shot at with small-shot, with the intention of merely crippling him. He was shot at several times, and at last he was so disabled as to be compelled to surrender. He kept in the run of a creek in a very dense swamp all the time that the neighbors were in pursuit of him. As soon as the negro was taken, the best medical aid was procured, but he died on the same evening. One of the witnesses at the inquisition stated, that the negro boy said that he was from Mississippi, and belonged to so many persons he did not know who his master was: but again he said his master's name was *Brown*. He said his own name was *Sam*; and when asked by another witness who his master was, he muttered something like *Augusta* or *Augustine*. The boy was apparently above 35 or 40 years of age—about six feet high—slightly yellow in the face—very long beard or whiskers—and very stout built, and a stern countenance; and appeared to have been run away a long time.

WILLIAM H. PRITCHARD,

Coroner, (ex officio,) Barnwell Dist., S. C.

✍ The Mississippi and other papers will please copy the above.—*Georgia Constitutional.*

*Voluntary Death.*—A colored man, acting as steward on board the *Selma*, was drowned at New Orleans, about a fortnight since, under the following peculiar circumstances:—

The negro, it seems, was a runaway slave, who had by some means obtained a set of free papers, and under the character of a freeman had been employed on several boats, but lastly on the *Selma*. Yesterday, the owner detected him on the boat, and seized hold of him to prevent his escape; but the negro, after a desperate struggle, succeeded in disengaging himself, and running to the wheel house, jumped down into the water, where it is believed he voluntarily drowned himself.

From the Clinton (Miss.) Gazette, July 23d, 1836. It needs no comment.

### WAS COMMITTED

To the jail of Covington county, on the 26th day of June, 1836, by *G. D. Gere*, Esq., a negro man, who says his name is

JOSIAH,

and says he belongs to John Martin, an Irishman living in the state of Louisiana, on the West side of the Mississippi river, twenty miles below Natchez. Josiah is five feet eight inches high, heavy built, copper color, *his back VERY MUCH SCARRED with the whip, and BRANDED on the thigh and hips in THREE or FOUR places*, thus, (I. M.) or (J. M.) the M. is very plain, but the I. or J. is not plain: *the rim of his right ear has been bit or cut off*. He is about 31 years of age, had on when committed pantaloons made of bed ticking, cotton coat, and an old fur hat very much worn. The owner of the above described negro is requested to comply with the requisitions of the law in such cases made and provided.

J. L. JOLLEY, Sh'ff, C. C.

Williamsburgh, June 28th, 1836.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, }  
Lenoir County. }

Whereas, complaint hath been this day made to us, two of the justices of the peace for the said County, by William D. Cobb, of Jones County, that two negro slaves belonging to him, named BEN (commonly known by the name of *Ben Fox*) and RIGDON, have absented themselves from their said master's service, and are lurking about in the counties of Lenoir and Jones, committing acts of felony. These are, in the name of the state, to command the said slaves forthwith to surrender themselves, and turn home to their said master. And we do hereby also require the sheriff of said county of Lenoir, to make diligent search and pursuit after the above-mentioned slaves; and them having found, to apprehend and secure so that they may be conveyed to their said master, or otherwise discharged as the law directs. And the said sheriff is hereby empowered to raise and take with him such power of his county as he shall think fit for the apprehension of said slaves. And we do hereby, by virtue of an act of the Assembly of this state, concerning servants and slaves, intimate and declare, if the said slaves do not surrender themselves, and return home to their master immediately after the publication of these presents, *that any person may kill and destroy said slaves by such means as he or they think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime or offence for so doing, or without incurring any penalty or forfeiture thereby.*

Given under our hands and seals, this 12th November, 1836.

B. COLEMAN, J. P. [Seal.]

JAS. JONES, J. P. [Seal.]

200 DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, about three years ago, a certain negro man named Ben, (commonly known by the name of Ben Fox.) He is about 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, chunkey made, yellow complexion, and had but one eye. Also, one other negro by the name of Rigdon, who ran away on the 8th of this month. He is stout made, tall, and very black, with large lips.

I will give the reward of one hundred dollars for each of the above negroes, to be delivered to me or confined in the jail of Lenoir or Jones county, or for the killing of them so that I can see them. Masters of vessels and all others are cautioned against harboring, employing, or carrying them away, under the penalty of the law.

W. D. COBB.

November 12, 1836.

The New-Orleans Bee, of the 14th October, says: "The slave who struck some citizens in Canal-street, some weeks since, has been tried and found guilty, and is sentenced to be hung on the 24th inst."

BURNING MEN IN ARKANSAS.—The Arkansas Gazette, of a recent date, says :—

“The slave William, who murdered his master some weeks since, (Huskey,) and several negroes, was taken by a party a few days since, from the sheriff at Hot Spring, and burnt alive! yes, tied up to the limb of a tree, a fire built under him, and consumed in slow and lingering torture!”

MURDER BY A NEGRO.—Mr. Wm. Avery, overseer of the plantation of James McConnell in Marshall County, Miss., was murdered by a negro, on the 29th of May. Mr. A. was *in the act of correcting the negro's wife*, when he was knocked down by a bludgeon, and beaten to death. Mr. A. was a *humane and kind* master, and the character of the negro without previous reproach; he is now in Raleigh jail awaiting his certain death.—*Memphis Paper.*

This William Avery may have been a northern man who resorted to the South to make a fortune. The following from the Johnstown Spy, published in Cambria County, Pennsylvania shows that there are northern men not unprepared to commit any barbarities required by their “brethren of the South.”

On Friday last, two colored men were brought to this place on a sled, who had been shot, one of them through the knee, and the other through the back. The circumstances in relation to this unfortunate affair, as far as we have been able to collect them, are as follows :—

The wounded negroes are said to be fugitive slaves, who had made their escape from their owners in Virginia. They were pursued by a number of persons, who had made several unsuccessful attempts to arrest them, until they had arrived within a few miles of this place, where they were again overtaken by the pursuers, who called to them to stop or they would shoot them. One of them turned round and replied that he would die before he would be taken, and at that moment received a rifle ball through his knee; the other started to run, but was brought to the ground by a ball being shot in his back. After receiving the above wounds, they made battle with their pursuers, and kept them off until they reached a house two or three miles from the place where they were shot, when becoming exhausted, they were unable to proceed farther. They were brought as before stated to this place, by the person who was authorized to take them. The persons who are said to have shot them are residents of this county.

The National Enquirer, of Philadelphia, says in regard to the case of Severn Martin, who was delivered up, as a fugitive from “service and labour” by a New Jersey Judge, but afterwards ransomed in Philadelphia for the sum of \$800.

The most outrageous cruelty was practiced, that was, perhaps, ever witnessed here, in cases of the kind. And after his arrival in Philadelphia, his captors exhibited the fell spirit of demons, in his treatment. We have been informed from unquestionable sources, that the man was beaten severely with a heavy stick, on the head and in the face; and, while he was suffering from the wounds inflicted, the monsters of slavite depravity performed the operation of PULLING OUT HIS GRAY HAIRS!!! His whiskers were also shaved off, to give him a younger appearance, that he might *sell to better advantage*. He was kept in irons about a week, and his limbs were much swollen by the friction of his manacles.



The Editor of the Cincinnati Philanthropist is voucher for the following fact : —

A Mr. James Fleming, who keeps the ferry on the Ohio river opposite Augusta, Ky. a few mornings since, about daylight, going down to his boat, discovered a skiff, coming across through the ice. He soon found a negro man was on board, who he imagined was a runaway. Consequently, he went out on the ice where the man was attempting to land, and proposed to assist him in making the shore. The negro replied, he did not wish any help—however, Fleming seized the bow of the skiff. The negro, apprehending his proffered assistance was made under cover of hypocrisy, leaped on the ice and cleared himself into the woods. Fleming then put his dog on the trail, and soon succeeded in running the poor fellow down. And, without the least form of trial, hurried him back across the river, where he was lodged in the Augusta jail for safe keeping."

All these horrible barbarities it must be remembered are but finger-boards pointing to a blood-smeared temple of Moloch, the sanctuary of whose cruelties has never yet been thrown open to the public gaze. The following paragraph points to the penetralia of another demon, whose votaries would drown the voice of justice and mercy by the clamorous outcry of "Amalgamation !"

A VALUABLE SLAVE.—A very beautiful girl belonging to the estate of John French, a deceased gambler at New-Orleans, was sold a few days since for the round sum of \$7,000. An ugly looking bachelor named Gouch, a member of the Council of one of the Principalities, was the purchaser. The Picayune says that the girl is a brunette—remarkable for her beauty and intelligence : and that there was considerable contention who should be the purchaser. She was however persuaded to accept Gouch—he having made her princely promises.—*New York Evening Star*.

#### DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

The past year has been one of unprecedented activity of the great internal Slave Trade. While the free have been shouting the praises of American liberty, and thanking God that they are not as the dark places of European, Asiatic and African despotism. American soil has been moistened by the bleeding feet of chained caravans, and an American sky has been pierced by the bitter lamentations of myriads of broken hearts ! We give a few of the sickening evidences of the extent of the traffic.

The *Virginia Times* proposes that the banking capital be increased from the money brought into the state from the sale of slaves. The Editor says,

"It may be objected by some, that the capital for so many new banks could not be subscribed, but when the immense amount of money that has been brought into the state by the sale of slaves, is considered, that objection is at once removed—we have heard intelligent men estimate the number of slaves exported from Virginia within the last twelve months at

120,000, each slave averaging at least \$600, making an aggregate of \$72,000,000. Of the number of slaves exported, not more than one-third have been sold, (the others having been carried by their owners who have removed,) which would leave in the state the sum of \$24,000,000, arising from the sale of slaves.

Another Southern paper contains the following paragraph.

**HIGH PRICE OF NEGROES.**—At Wadesborough, on Tuesday last, negro fellows, we learn, sold for 1300 dollars, and not very likely at that: there was a credit of twelve months. A feeling honorable to our nature withholds the most of us from parting with this kind of property, but it would be the true interest of this country to send our slave population to the South, if any thing like the present prices can be obtained. They certainly cannot earn the interest on their present value.

A slave broker in South Carolina publishes the following notice:—

**NEGROES FOR SALE.**—The subscriber, residing at Hamburg, S. C., at the second house from the Bridge, has on hand a likely parcel of Virginia negroes, and receives new supplies every 15 days. Persons wishing to purchase would do well to give me a call. I also wish to purchase 50 likely young fellows, for which I will pay One Thousand and Fifty Dollars a head or more, if the property is worth it.

JOSEPH WOOD.

The following are specimens of the advertisements of slave traders in the General American Slave Market, the District of Columbia. It will be noticed that they do not advertise for entire families, but would tear away the young and strong.

[From the National Intelligencer.]

**CASH FOR FOUR HUNDRED NEGROES**, including both sexes, from twelve to twenty-five years of age. Persons having servants to dispose of will find it to their interest to give me a call, as I will give higher prices, in cash, than any other purchaser who is now in this market.

I can at all times be found at the Mechanics' Hall, now kept by B. O. Sheckle, and formerly kept by Isaac Beers, on Seventh-street, a few doors below Lloyd's Tavern, opposite the Centre market. All communications promptly attended to.

JAMES H. BIRCH,

Washington City.

[From the Same.]

**CASH FOR FOUR HUNDRED NEGROES.**—The highest cash price will be given by the subscriber for Negroes of both sexes, from the age of 12 to 28. Those who wish to sell will do well to give me a call, at my place on Seventh street, a yellow rough-cast house; the first on the right hand going from the market house to the steamboat wharf; or at A. Lee's Lottery Office, five doors east of Gadsby's Hotel. Those who wish to board their servants can be accommodated on moderate terms.

WM. H. WILLIAMS.

A New-Orleans Auctioneer, closes an advertisement for the sale of fifty-one "picked slaves" as follows :—

All the above described slaves bear a good character; they were raised in the states of Virginia and Maryland, and *selected* with care.

Terms—One-third cash, payable into the hands of the notary on the day of sale, and the balance in notes at 4, 8 and 12 months, satisfactorily endorsed; and if not paid at maturity, to bear an interest of 10 per cent till paid—but without giving the privilege of postponing the payment. The vendor guaranties only the title; the defects known will be pointed out on the day of sale.

The Natchez Courier of a recent date estimates the slaves that have been transported from the older slave states to Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, during the year 1836, at TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND. If this estimate approximates the truth, the American trade exceeds the worst days of the African. And this whole trade, be it remembered, is placed by the Constitution as fully within the control of Congress as the African. It is to Congress that it looks for protection, and our general government is now actually engaged in seeking from a foreign power indemnity for cargoes of slaves that have become free by being driven by stress of weather upon shores where slavery cannot exist. What a mockery is our boasted law, making the African Slave Trade PIRACY, punishable with DEATH! What an exhibition for the eyes of Europe, the model republic of the world, negotiating with one of her monarchies for the indemnification of PIRATES! Is it not time for freemen to say through their representatives in Congress, we will no longer bear the responsibility of this crime? Is it not time to say, at least, that if this outrageous commerce is suffered to live at all, it shall not stalk abroad on the highway of nations? But, we do not mean to recommend half-way measures. Let Congress come up to the full extent of its power, and throw upon the states which wish to traffick in the bodies of their citizens, the responsibility of obeying or disobeying a righteous law. If there be a God in Heaven, as the end of all tyrants assures us there is, it is madness to look for peace and prosperity, as a nation, while such a traffic is allowed to exist. It is a common interest, and a common danger. We, the free laboring people of the northern states, call upon Congress to shield us from a piratical traffic in which our own fellow-citizens of the North, our next door neighbors, have

been enticed to embark their fortunes, to the jeopardy of themselves and us. Whether they lose or amass wealth by it, their participation in *piracy* is an injury to us. We have as much interest against the employment of northern capital in the slave-trade between Virginia, and New-Orleans, as against its employment in the same trade between Africa and Brazil. But for man-merchandise and forced labor, commercial affairs could not, on the untasked and exuberant soil of this young country, have come to the unhappy predicament in which we now see them. If, then, the federal government cannot touch the principle of forced labor, let it lay its whole power upon the principle of *raising laborers for sale*.

#### POLITICAL SUPPORT OF SLAVERY.

But "the dark spirit of Slavery" has its triumphs to boast, not only on the blood-stained track from Maryland and Virginia to the Southern cotton fields, but in our legislative halls, both State and National. It is true, that no Northern state has yet dared to comply with the arrogant demands of the South, and violate its own Constitution, by taking from its own citizens their freedom of speech. But many of them have declined, rather in the tones of willing slaves, than of indignant freemen. New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, refuse to protect the personal liberty of their own citizens by a jury trial. New-York with all her pretences to Democracy, has slighted the right of petition, with a haughtiness worthy of slaveholders themselves. The conduct of most of the free State legislatures, has been such as to encourage rather than repress the violation of law by the opponents of abolition.

The history of the twenty-fourth Congress, has, we believe, produced in the most intelligent minds, the conviction that liberty and slavery cannot long co-exist in this nation. Slavery must be extended through the North, or Abolition at the South. There is but one other alternative, a dissolution of the Government. The most sacred and important of all rights—that which, we are told, distinguishes freemen from slaves—we have lived to see trampled under foot. At the close of its first session, the House of Representatives passed a resolution, which was again adopted in its second session, "that all petitions, memorials, resolutions and pro-

positions, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, should, without being either printed or referred, be laid on the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon." [Passed at the first session—yeas 117, nays 68—at the second, debate being cut off by the *previous question*, yeas 129, nays 69.] In the celebrated report of Mr. Pinckney, which first recommended this resolution, it was not denied that Congress has the *right* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The constitutional power of Congress to *protect* slave property is not only admitted, but the exercise of it is claimed by all slaveholders. Yet in relation to slavery, the right of the citizens to be heard for a redress of grievances, a right guarded expressly by the Constitution itself, has become a dead and buried right! In 1793 Congress passed a law authorizing the recovery of fugitive slaves, whereby any person in a free state may be seized as a fugitive from service or labor, and without a jury trial, upon proof, oral or written, to the satisfaction of such magistrate as the claimant may elect, may be hurried into hopeless slavery. Should the citizens of the free States deem themselves aggrieved by these summary and despotie proceedings, and petition Congress to repeal its own unconstitutional act, they are spurned from the footstool! They are doomed to learn that their servants have become their masters. It was not possible for Congress more clearly to violate the Constitution than it has done in regard to the right of petition. Not even an *ex post facto* law would have been a more palpable violation of the solemn oath by which every member was bound. To resolve that Congress shall neither hear nor consider any petition in regard to a subject confessedly within its power, is to "abridge the right of petition."

But the right of petition was abridged by the twenty-fourth Congress, not only as to the range of *subjects* on which the people may be heard, but as to *the classes of people* who may be heard on any subject. The proceedings to which we refer are the following in the House of Representatives, February 11, 1837 :

"An inquiry having been made by an honorable gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ADAMS,] whether a paper, which he held in his hand, purporting to be a petition from certain slaves, and declaring themselves slaves, came within the order of the House of the 18th of January, and the said paper not having been received by the

Speaker, he stated that in a case so extraordinary and novel, he would take the advice and counsel of the House.

*Resolved*, That this House cannot receive the said petition, without disregarding its own dignity, the rights of a large class of citizens of the South and West, and the Constitution of the United States. Adopted, yeas 160, nays 35.

*Resolved*, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the people of the United States by the Constitution. Adopted, yeas 162, nays 18."

The Honorable Ex-President of the United States, when he declared that he held in his hands a petition purporting to be from slaves, touched slavery between the joints of the harness. The case *was* "extraordinary and novel;" and the declaration that it was so, proclaims the secrets of the American prison-house in tones of thunder. It was a matter of no moment to the South, what was the prayer of the petition, it was enough for her to know, that it purported to come from SLAVES. Her mastiff statesmen snuffed the beggar before he raised the latch, and in the unappeasable clamor of their all barking at once, it was long before they could be made to understand the harmlessness of his errand, nor did they then bark the less furiously. Resolution after resolution concerning Mr. Adams was brought forward and urged upon the House in foaming haste, the mover of the first, altogether overlooking the circumstances, that the petition had not been presented, and that its prayer was not known. And it is not easy to say to what excess of riot the debate would have run, if a Virginian had not had the sagacity to discover and the manhood to say, that the South was making too large a draft upon common sense and common decency, to censure an honorable member for the mere fact of asking a reasonable question. But the rejection of the resolutions was supposed so strongly to imply that slaves *have* the right of petition, that the Southern delegation thought it time to resort to their standing tactics—a demonstration for the dissolution of the Union. They drew off in a body, and began to talk of blood and a Southern Convention. By the management of a man who had really more interest in the matter than any other, the President elect, Southern dignity and pride was propitiated by the passage of the above quoted preamble and resolutions. The first was offered by a whig representative from the city of Benezet, Rush, and Franklin; the second, by a professed democrat from the state of New York! The question of Mr. Adams, was, after all, not answered. But two doctrines were established, as "extraordinary and novel" in politics,

as was the case which called them forth. First, we are taught that the reception of petitions from one class of citizens, whatever may be their prayer, or whatever disposition Congress may make of it, may be a violation of the rights of another class. Thus, to apply the principle, it may violate the rights of the shoe makers of Lynn, for Congress to receive a petition from the India Rubber Company of Roxbury, or it may violate the rights of the democratic party, for Congress to receive a petition from the whigs, whether they pray for a National Bank, or against it. All this is contained in the first resolution, besides the mystery that the reception of a petition may violate the dignity of the House, and the Constitution of the United States! Secondly, we are taught that the Constitution of the United States did not design to secure the right of petition to those who have most need to use it, but only to those who already possess personal liberty, and its inseparable blessings; and that those to whom the *Constitution* does not secure the right, do not possess it. Whether they never possessed it, or possessing it before, were deprived of it by the Constitution, we are not informed. The class of persons who may petition, includes none who are not already masters of themselves, and in the free pursuit of their own happiness. It does include those who are powerful and rich, men who wish to turn their useless thousands into millions, by monopolizing, banking, using the public money, and the public land, or enslaving their fellow men. People whose grievances are tolerable or imaginary, may freely petition; but when a man's grievances become more than he can bear—when they consume him and drink up his spirit, when oppression has gone beyond his effects, and seized the cause—when a fellow citizen has set him with the dogs of his flock, and the cattle of his field—when all his social relations have been placed on the footing of brutality, for the gratification of another's will, and wrong has emptied the dregs of her last vial upon his head, and there is none to help—then it is, that he loses the right of petition. God hears the poor publican, and the ravens. He hears the poor stranger, whom the thieves leave by the way side, and sends his Samaritan. But the American Congress has an ear only for Pharisees and birds of Paradise. It listens only to the dignified prayers of the Priest and Levite!

Not less arrogant and unconstitutional, is the position ta-

ken by the President in his Inaugural Address. Repeating the assurance which he had given his slaveholding friends, before the election, that he should go into the presidential chair, "the inflexible, and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, *against the wishes of the slaveholding states,*" he thinks it proper to say, "It now only remains to add, that no bill conflicting with these views, can ever receive my constitutional sanction." Whether or not the veto power was granted to the President by the Constitution, merely to save him from the absurdity of ostensibly acquiescing in the violation of an instrument which he had sworn to support, it is believed that the unconstitutionality of the act of Congress has always, hitherto, been assigned as a reason for its exercise. Certainly no President has hitherto, pledged himself in advance, to veto any constitutional measure, out of regard to the interests or will of a section of the country. How strangely would such a pledge have sounded from the lips of George Washington, or John Adams, or Thomas Jefferson, or any other of the illustrious predecessors of Martin Van Buren! What President would have dared to pledge himself not to sustain the reduction or repeal of the Tariff, *against the wishes of the New England States?* The very reference of Mr. Van Buren to the "wishes of the slaveholding States," indicates that he will not rest his veto, if he has occasion to use it, on the unconstitutionality of the act. And in the same letter to his Southern friends, to which he refers as a full exposition of his sentiments, after having considered the question, as he acknowledges, "with a sincere desire to arrive at the conclusion, that the subject in respect to the District of Columbia, can be placed on the same ground on which it stands with respect to the States, viz: the want of constitutional power of Congress to interfere in the matter," he is obliged by "candor," to confess, that he has not been able to discover such a want of power—he has not been able to discover that Congress, having the power of "*exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever,*" has less power than Maryland and Virginia had over the same territory. "Thus viewing the matter," he adds, "I would not, from the lights now before me, feel myself safe in pronouncing that Congress does not possess the power of interfering with, or abolishing slavery, in the District of Columbia." It is not easy to say, what new light



may not dawn upon a man, who has "a sincere desire to arrive at the conclusion" most favorable to his political elevation, but there can be no reasonable doubt, that the President believes, *with his present light*, that a *majority* in Congress has a constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Between this majority and a slaveholding minority, he takes his choice, and pledges himself to govern according to the wishes of the latter ! Is this doctrine, that the *minority* shall rule, the doctrine of republicanism ? Is it the doctrine on which Mr. Van Buren rose to the Presidency ? There may be a majority of the nation, with "*the lights now before them*," who are opposed to abolition in the District, but are they willing to bind themselves never to change their opinion ? Are they willing their public servant should pledge himself in a certain contingency, to disobey their reasonable commands ? Are they willing to set aside the old corner stone of our republicanism, that *the majority of the people shall rule according to the Constitution*, to make room for the new one, hewn out by the hands of Governor McDuffie, that *slaveholders* shall rule according to their *own* wishes ? It cannot have escaped the prophetic ken of so shrewd a statesman as our present Chief Magistrate, that he would lose by his pledge, more than he would gain at the North, hence we may infer that he gave it simply because he was driven to give it, as the condition of his receiving certain Southern votes necessary to his elevation.

True patriots will find it poor comfort to be told, that the President looks to the preservation of the Union. Has it come to this that the Union can only be preserved by a pledge from the Executive, that in a certain event, the majority shall be put under the rule of the minority ? The President has been careful to tell us that "the framers of our Constitution legislated for our country as they found it." Why, then, does not the President legislate for the country as he finds it ? Why does he pledge himself to regard a certain "domestic institution" in the capital of the country to be, what it is not, placed beyond the control of Congress ? Why does he legislate as if the *disturbance* of this institution, and not *the institution itself* endangered the harmony of the Union ? He informs us that in framing the Constitution, our fathers took into the account that "in some states existed domestic institutions, which, unwisely *dis-*

*turbed*, might endanger the harmony of the whole." Why then did they clothe Congress with the power of disturbance? Knowing that one branch of inter-state commerce, might be a commerce in the human species. Why did they grant Congress power to regulate commerce between the several states? Recognizing, at least, the possibility that the ten miles square for the seat of government might be ceded from slave states, why did they give congress "exclusive legislation *in all cases whatsoever*," within that ten miles square? And, above all, why did they forbid Congress to abridge the freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition on any subject? Why, in short, with their eyes open to all the dangers of the "domestic institution," did they leave for the abolitionists all the ground they now occupy? There is but one answer. *They looked upon slavery as an institution which must soon become extinct.* It can hardly be supposed that the South would have accepted the Constitution as it is, had they designed that slavery should be eternal; and it is certain the North would not. The South at that time admitted slavery to be an evil, unfortunately entailed upon us, and which could only be gradually removed. As one of the steps in this gradualism, they yielded the foreign slave trade, then supposed to be the life and soul of the system itself. Had they then been determined on perpetuating the system, they would have looked forward to the domestic slave trade as the substitute for the foreign, and would have excepted it from the control of Congress. In regard to the intent of the framers of the Constitution, the President has certainly taken things as they are not. But whatever may have been the intent or the policy of the framers of the Constitution, justice remains the same. Whatever their expectations, *we* have lived to see the working of an "experiment," which *they* only commenced. The fault we have to find with the President's account of the working of this experiment is simply, that it is not true. Having assumed the "provident forecast," of our fathers to have been what it was not, he adds that it "has been verified by time."

"Half a century," he proceeds to say, "teeming with extraordinary events, and elsewhere producing astonishing results, has passed along; but on our institutions it has left no injurious mark. From a small community, we have risen to a people powerful in numbers and in strength; but with our increase has gone, hand in hand, the progress of just principles; the privileges, civil and religious, of the humblest individual are still

sacredly protected at home; and while the valor and fortitude of our people have removed far from us the slightest apprehension of foreign power, they have not yet induced us, in a single instance, to forget what is right."

If this bright picture had been a reality, the "domestic institutions" of the South would never have been disturbed by the abolitionists. The truth is, that the lapse of the last fifty years *has* left upon our institutions, in the eyes of the civilized world, the brand of infamy. We have wonderfully increased, but with our increase has gone, hand in hand, the most cruel oppression, so that now, not only is one sixth part of our population deprived of every privilege, civil or religious, but the highest individual as well as the humblest owes his protection at home either to his complexion, or to his base subserviency to the behests of slaveholders. What an astounding contradiction to the President's assertions was it the destiny of the President himself to offer in the very act of presenting himself to take the oath of office! To that coveted honor he had found it impossible to rise without first prostrating himself before the genius of southern despotism, and staining his soul with a promise to sacrifice the interests, and wishes of a majority of the nation to the despot's will. While he affirmed that "the rights of the humblest individual are still protected," the price he was paying for the honors of that proud moment, was a pledge to uphold, even in opposition to the voice of the people, a system of tyranny, which puts in jeopardy the life of every *free* citizen of the North who visits the capital of his country! It may be true that "the *valor* and *fortitude* of our people "have not yet induced us, in a single instance, to forget what is right," but it is not true that we have not in more instances than one, forgotten the right. Let the fate of the noble tribes uprooted from our southern borders testify. Let our diplomacy with Mexico, and our conduct towards her rebellious province speak. Let an expensive and inglorious war, occasioned by a cotton planter's claim of property, to the wife of a brave Indian chieftain, bear witness.\*

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\* The following is a note appended to an account of the celebrated Ocoola, by M. M. Cohen, "Ocoola, or Powell, as he was called by the whites, had a wife to whom he was much attached, whose mother was a mulatto slave, who ran away, was adopted by the Indians, and married one of their chiefs. Though the father was free, yet as children by law in the South, take the condition of the mother,

Let it be distinctly understood that in commenting upon the statements of the President with this freedom, we, neither feel any want of respect for his high station, nor are we moved by any party animosity. We yield to none of our fellow-citizens in our attachment to the form of government under which it is our happiness to live, nor do we undervalue the dignity of the important office to which the voice of an enlightened and self-governing people has called the author of this Inaugural Address. The cause we plead is infinitely above the political parties of our country, as the personal liberty of our laboring population is infinitely above the questions whether this or that man shall be elected President, or whether the Constitution shall be construed to give Congress a little more, or a little less power, or whether we shall have but one bank or a thousand. Among the most zealous advocates of immediate abolition are men who maintain the political principles on which Mr. Van Buren rose to his present office, and who probably gave him their personal votes. But such men have not been the last to express their honest indignation in regard to the pledge by which their votes have been made to support the system they abhor.\*

We have a word more to say of the Inaugural Address. "Our system," says the new President, "purified and enhanced in value by all it has encountered, still preserves its spirit of free and fearless discussion." A free and fearless scramble for wealth and office there may be. Abstract philosophers, sublimated out of the world of reality, may split hairs in freedom and safety, and so they may in Austria. But, if the free and fearless discussion of the highest practical interests of human life, is at home upon our soil, to whom do we owe it? Is it due to those who have administered our political system, or to those who have within the last five years periled life in the exercise of their rights? Another paragraph of the Inaugural Address decides this question. "Here and there, indeed," says this

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Oceola's wife was seized as a slave by a person claiming her under the right of her mother's former master. The high spirited husband attempted to defend her, but was overpowered and put in irons by Thompson, who commanded the party. The event is incidentally related above. This transaction has been said to be the origin of the war in Florida."

\* Many undoubtedly voted for Mr. Van Buren as a choice of evils. Mr. White denied the power of Congress to touch slavery in the District, and Gen. Harrison not only went as far as Mr. Van Buren in upholding the claims of the slave states, but added his approval of the abominable scheme of colonization.

self-confounding document, "scenes of dangerous excitement have occurred; terrifying instances of local violence have been witnessed; and *a reckless disregard of the consequences of their conduct, has exposed individuals to popular indignation.*" Here, from the very steps that lead up to the Presidential chair, comes forth the voice of that spirit of "mob law" and "Lynch law," which for some years past has triumphed from Florida to Maine over moral and statute law, and has put invention to the stretch for appalling forms of brutal violence whereby to crush the exercise of free discussion. If, under the reign of this spirit, the discussion of the most important of all practical subjects within the scope of religion or politics, has been "*fearless*," it has been simply because hearts were enlisted on the side of the oppressed that knew not how to fear. The truth is, that when men have been so "reckless," as to incur the displeasure of some of the minions of slavery, by reviving the well nigh exploded doctrines of Jefferson's celebrated Declaration, and for this presumption have been ferociously assaulted, stoned, beaten, dragged through the streets, and threatened with death, the ministers of justice, in the very style of the Inaugural, have stood by and baptized the outrage "popular indignation"! and, instead of visiting upon the guilty the retribution of law, they have lamented that the innocent should be so "reckless of consequences," as to put themselves in a condition to need its protection! Here is "the spirit of free and fearless discussion, blended with unimpaired fraternal feeling"!

#### MEASURES.

Having reconnoitered some of the most important obstacles and enemies the American Anti-Slavery Society has to encounter, it remains to look at its resources and means of aggression, and to inquire how they are to be applied.

The great end at which we aim is, to subvert the relation of master and slave—not by machinery political or ecclesiastical, but by establishing in the hearts of men a deep and wide-spreading conviction of the brotherhood of the human race; that God hath indeed made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth; that all men who mean to obey the divine appointment, and honestly get their bread by their labor, have a common interest

in sustaining the principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire. Thanks to God, the people who cultivate the soil of the northern states have yet some power of volition and freedom of action in their own hands, and they can be made to see and feel that their brotherhood is rather with the honest but oppressed laborer of the South, than with the lordling who lives at ease upon his unrequited toil. They can show that it is not, as the pretended patriarchs claim, a law of society that the laborer should be a chattel. To get the hearts of our countrymen, we need only go to them with the truth, breaking through the spells of political chicanery and ecclesiastical usurpation, brushing aside the cobwebs of Colonizationism and prejudice, and laying open to their view the whole theory and practice of slavery in its length and breadth. There is nothing like the secrets of the great American prison-house to kindle the soul. Let them see, too, that the blessed Bible—a lens that brings to a focus the broad sunshine of Deity that falls upon the universe of his works, a thing too soul-kindling to be allowed in the dungeon of slavery—is all, all on our side. Let the friends of human rights get to the bottom of this book and understand its doctrines, and most amply can they revenge the use that oppression has made of it.

It is neither philosophical nor Christian to say, that enlightened, cordial sympathy for the oppressed, as it grows deeper and broader in these northern communities, will not act effectually upon the consciences of slaveholders. They are men; and multitudes of them are rather the dupes and slaves of the system of oppression than its authors. When they come to see that by the mass of the good and the free they are not hated as rivals or enemies, but regarded with benevolent concern as sinning brethren, whom the law of God compels us faithfully to rebuke, they cannot but feel, and seriously think. The providence of God throws thousands of slaveholders within our Abolition atmosphere: let them find that, instead of the homage which their slaveholding used to bring them, and does even now, they can expect only faithful reproof—that, instead of being courted and caressed, all that is good and noble will shrink from their fellowship, and they will go home prepared, if not immediately to emancipate their slaves, to join in the moral insurrection which is fast approaching.

The doctrine, that a man is a man, will not stop at niceties of

complexion. There is no tyranny more detestable, and deserving to be thrown overboard into a bottomless ocean of shame, than that which comes in between me and my neighbor, and claims by virtue of custom, the proprieties of time and place, the decencies of social intercourse, due respect for public opinion, &c., to graduate the respect I shall pay him according to the color of his skin. Against this tyranny, Abolitionists will continue to rebel: it deserves to be rebelled against for its own sake, and much more when it is acting as the armor-bearer of slavery. What! dwells there a soul in the man who can for one moment submit to that arrogant dictation which impudently intrudes into the privacies of the breast, and says, with a man whose complexion is so and so you must not associate, on pain of public censure? On this point, we fear Abolitionists have been too ready to yield, as they have fancied, for the good of the cause. We say, perish the cause which must needs make us treat a brother, whom we respect and love, as if we scorned him—because, forsooth, a prejudiced public will otherwise be displeased. There is no motive which can justify a man in acting at all in the line of the world's unjust custom, but the good of the individual, of which *he* must be the judge. If we are to wait till the thing is popular, or will not injure the cause, to use the fashionable parlance, before we grasp our colored brother by the hand, and bury the cord of separation, we may wait till the angel shall set his right foot on the sea and his left on the earth, and swear that there shall be time no longer. It is true, an Abolitionist may wish for and advocate the civil emancipation of those whom he would still be unwilling to associate with; but if color in itself, or public opinion is *the reason* why he does not associate with one with whom he otherwise would, he wrongs the cause in which he is engaged. Surely, when millions are groaning under the demon scourge of chattelism, and the circumstance of the color which God has pleased to give them is made the reason and the means of their bondage, the philanthropist should break through the tyranny of this prejudice, and wrest from the oppressor this weapon. Says the slaveholder, 'The difference of color is so marked, that the two races cannot live together in the same country in any other more peaceable relation than that of master and slave. Abolitionists, will you not show this to be a lie?'

The mistake from which the public mind needs to be

relieved in regard to our colored brethren, is a complete exchange of cause and effect. It is supposed that the colored man is excluded from social and political equality with the whites because he is degraded, whereas he is degraded because he is excluded. The free colored man has not fallen from the level of civilized society—he has been prevented from rising to it. Released from brutal chains, he finds himself surrounded by a mass of men whose prejudices conspire to keep him down. He does not ask to be received and esteemed for what he is not, but simply for liberty to become what is worthy of estimation, and to be esteemed for what he is, without respect to his color. He asks simply for the same chance which in our republican country is awarded to all white men of the same standing. But how is he answered? In some states, by being branded as a vagabond or a felon, being compelled to give security for his good behavior and self-support, though chargeable with neither crime nor idleness. By being excluded from the common benefit of schools. By being excluded from honorable and profitable occupations. By being shut out of vehicles of locomotion, and places of innocent and useful recreation. By being marked every where as a burden to his country, fit only to be colonized to a foreign coast. By being set apart, as of another and inferior race, even in places of religious worship. By being refused a place, either on the bench of justice, at the bar, in the jury box, or the constabulary force. By being virtually, and to a great extent actually, refused any voice in making the laws—and when the rod of civil power is thus placed in the hands of his oppressor, being reproached for receiving more than his proportion of its blows!\* Who can blame the colored man

\* To sustain these assertions, we give some facts gathered from recent publications:—

"All free colored persons are obliged to have their title to freedom recorded, and to give bonds, renewable yearly, with five good and sufficient securities, in the penal sum of \$1000, for their good and orderly conduct, under a penalty of \$20, and an instant departure from the city, on the order of the Mayor, or imprisonment for six months on refusal."—*An ordinance of the corporation of Washington City, D. C.*—*Phil. Chronicle.*

"A public meeting held in Brinkley's District, Somerset County, Md., on the 2d instant, adopted among others, the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That all *free negroes*, who shall not leave the said District on or before the 1st day of September next, shall be considered as insurgents, and as opposed to the good order and well being of the white citizens thereof."—*Maryland paper.*



in such circumstances for being discouraged? Who can wonder that he should turn and prey upon the society which despises him and casts him out?

The marvel is, that with so little motive to do well, and so great provocation to do ill, the colored people as a class are no worse. Though the number of colored people con-

"At Zanesville, Ohio, a pious young woman opened a school for the neglected and ignorant colored people of that place. This so enraged the citizens, that they abused the teacher—entered the school house—destroyed spelling-books, geographies, arithmetics, NEW TESTAMENTS, and the furniture of the house—and finally succeeded in driving the school from the place.

"A missionary recently engaged in teaching the colored people at the 'camps' in Brown's county, Ohio. The citizens burnt the school house—destroying spelling books, geographies, arithmetics, NEW TESTAMENTS, &c., and by threats, menaces, and actual inflictions, compelled the missionary to leave the ground."—*Pittsburgh Times*.

"A colored man, in the state of Ohio, at a meeting not long since, was the first, when awakened sinners were invited to come forward for prayer and conversation, who took the anxious seat. A leader in the meeting went up to him, and said, 'Sir, you must not come forward here, for you will keep away many that we want to see among the anxious.'—*Cleveland Messenger*.

"*Unprecedented Liberty.*—The following facts come to us duly vouched:—

"On the 31st ultimo, a colored man, in indigent circumstances, who has many entirely dependent upon him for a maintenance, (in the employ of Messrs. N. J. Elliott & Co.,) went to the Dry Dock Bank, and presented a check for \$1200; for which he was paid \$12,000. He did not discover the mistake until he attempted to deposite the amount in another bank; when he directly returned, and informed the teller of the error, who, with gratitude, received the \$10,800. The Board of Directors, being anonymously informed of the fact, determined to pay him \$25! to which the teller added \$10!

"If an African sun had not burnt upon this *honest man* "a complexion incompatible with freedom," would this stinted measure of gratitude have been deemed sufficient?"—*N. Y. American*.

"In a late publication of the New-York Zoological Institute, after setting forth their claims and eulogizing their attractions, the proprietors say, in a note—

"The proprietors wish it to be understood, that **PEOPLE OF COLOR** are not permitted to enter, **EXCEPT WHEN IN ATTENDANCE UPON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES.**"

"Some years since, a singular incident occurred in one of the courts of this city, [Phil.] When the sheriff was calling over the names of the jury, he summoned, among others, "George Jones." "Here, sir," answered a voice from the crowd, and a colored man came forth, and took his seat in the jury box.

"Here is some mistake," said the sheriff.

"No mistake at all. Here is your summons. My name has been regularly drawn, and it is on the jury list."

"The judge interfered, "You may retire."

"I'd rather not, sir. I am willing to perform my duty."

"Here was a dilemma. There was nothing in the law to exclude a colored man from the jury box, and the court was at a loss what to do. At length, the jurymen was challenged by one of the parties, and had to leave the box. This is, we believe, the only instance of such an error; though it might be supposed that it would be of frequent occurrence."—*Penn. Sentinel*.

victed of crime is greater in proportion to their whole number than of the whites—as we might well suppose from their much smaller opportunity of evading the law yet it is remarkable, that their criminals are not generally so hardened, nor their crimes so injurious to society, as those of the whites. Says the Editor of the N. Y. Evening Post—“In conversing with the chaplain of a prison, containing about 300 convicts, he remarked, that he found it much less difficult to get hold of the hearts and awaken the consciences of colored convicts, than of white men in the same situation.”

That the colored would not fall behind any part of our population in the duties of good citizenship, if not discouraged by prejudice, is proved sufficiently by what many have actually achieved in spite of their disadvantages. In Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and other cities, are numerous colored citizens, possessed of wealth, which they are increasing by energetic and well-

The following is from an English paper. The subject of it is well known and highly esteemed in New-York, both as a preacher and a gentleman.

“There is at present in London an Episcopal clergyman—the Rev. Peter Williams of New-York, who, in consequence of his being a man of color, was refused by three lines of packets a passage to Europe. Mr. Williams is well known as a cultivated, pious, and estimable man. After having tried in vain to obtain a passage hither by the usual conveyance, he was compelled to embark from New-York on board an English vessel, the captain of which treated him with distinguished kindness and attention. Mr. Williams has recently made the attempt to return from London to the United States by the American packets, but has been refused a passage, except on conditions that it would be a degradation to him to accept. He will again have to be indebted to an English vessel, which will sail in about ten days, for the means of reaching his native land.”

“From the letter of Rev. Theodore S. Wright, to Dr. Alexander:—

“You, no doubt, sir, recollect that, on Tuesday the 20th of last month, the “Literary Society of the Alumni of Nassau Hall,” convened at the chapel of the Seminary for the purpose of hearing their annual address. Desirous of partaking of the intellectual repast which was very justly anticipated, I was induced to attend. Accordingly, when the time arrived for the exercises to commence, I repaired to the place of meeting. I found the chapel crowded to overflowing. I was favored to stand inside by the door. After occupying that position some time, benches were passed in, and placed in one of the aisles. Like those near me, I availed myself of a seat on one of those benches, perhaps ten feet from the door. There I sat until the close of the exercises. The band had played; the President had announced the appointments for the evening, and the audience had arisen to withdraw, when I heard with surprise the urgentlymanly outcry, “Out with the nigger!” “Out with the nigger!” But I had not the least idea that I was the victim, until seized by the collar by a young man *who kicked me thro or three times in the most ruthless manner*—at the same time saying, “What do you do here? what do you do here? Don’t let me see you here again.” Just at this instant, an individual, who I am informed is a member of the Seminary, laid hold of the infuriated young man, and prevented his farther abuse. With an air of conscious self-importance, he exclaimed, as if he had effected some noble exploit, “My name is Ancrum—my name is Ancrum.”

directed industry. In Philadelphia, the real estate owned by colored men is supposed to be worth at least one million of dollars. From a memorial carefully drawn up by the colored people of Philadelphia, and presented to the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1832, we gather the following facts:—In the year 1830, it appears that out of 549 out-door poor, relieved during the year, only 22 were persons of color, being about 4 per cent. of the whole number, while their ratio of population exceeds 8 1-4 per cent. The colored paupers admitted into the Alms House for the same period, did not exceed 4 per cent. of the whole number. The amount of taxes paid by them could not be fairly ascertained; but, from imperfect returns, it appears that they pay not less than \$2,500 annually, while the sums expended for the relief of their poor, out of the public funds, has rarely, if ever, exceeded \$2000 a-year. The amount of rents paid by them is found to exceed 100,000 dollars annually.

The following facts, in regard to the colored people in New Bedford, (Mass.) speak triumphantly:—

The Brig Rising States, is owned by a company of colored men in New Bedford, and manned by an entire colored crew.

RICHARD JOHNSON, Agent.  
EDWARD J. POMFEY, Master,  
WILLIAM CUFFEE, Mate.  
WILLIAM HAMELETON, 2d Mate.

Said brig and outfits, cost five thousand five hundred dollars, and sailed from the port of New-Bedford to the South Atlantic Ocean, on a voyage of twelve months. The whole number of officers and men is fifteen. There are now in this vicinity, two captains, laid up in ordinary for want of employ, owing to the prejudice which exists against people of color, and we have not the means ourselves to purchase and fit ships for those amongst us who are qualified to take charge of them. There are two men now at sea, who are fully qualified for masters of vessels, and first rate whale men, but are obliged to serve as common sailors because of their color only.

There are in New Bedford, about twelve hundred colored inhabitants, of which number there are fifty owning real estate, valued at seventy thousand dollars."

Let it be remembered that our main reliance for spreading our doctrines, and keeping them to the conscience till the desired effect is produced, is the PRESS. The PRESS MUST BE KEPT FREE AND ACTIVE. It had been already discerned, and it was clearly apprehended by the founders of our admirable form of government, that neither the form they selected, nor any other, could of itself secure the freedom of the people. Their hope was in THE FREEEOM OF THE PRESS—the Press throwing sunlight into every

dwelling from the mansion of the President to the log cabin of the frontier—the press, telling in every ear the sufferings of the lowest, and the crimes of the highest—leaving no concealment for wrong, nor ambushade for guile—pouring full upon every public servant, the focus of the public gaze, and blasting tyranny and oppression in the bud. The freedom of the press is the only hope of the weak against the strong, of the honest against the crafty. That which cuts off its benefit from the humblest individual in the land,—call it, as the slaveholders do, a “domestic institution,” or what you will—is an abuse which ought to be swept away. Without this freedom of the press, paramount and supreme within the limits of truth, our democracy is but a name, our republic is but a many-headed tyrant. More true liberty may be enjoyed under a monarchy where the press is free, than in a republic where it is chained. Whether this assertion is borne out by examples across the water, we will not stop to decide, but of this our warfare has assured us, that the freedom of the press is yet to be established here, and that freedom of thought is even more shackled with us than freedom of motion—bodily slavery being confined to the South, while mental slavery is co-extensive with the land.

It is true that the freedom of the press is most emphatically guarded both by our Federal and State Constitutions, and it is true that on many subjects it is free. On many wrongs confined to the few, and on many abstract crimes, its light falls freely,—but there is one great practical wrong,—a crime that smells to heaven—a crime which has clothed itself in the blackness of the pit, upon which it has not been permitted to shine. Public opinion, giving license to mobs, has cried, Hands off. It has been accounted a piece of extreme presumption in this Society, and the pioneers who led to its formation, to have turned the focus of the press upon the subject of slavery. It is spoken of as rashness, recklessness, madness. What does this accusation on millions of tongues, from the sages of the surplice and the ermine, to the babblers of the grog shops—imply? What does it *imply*? Nay, what does it proclaim aloud and unceasingly as with the voice of a raging ocean? It proclaims that the guarantee of the Constitution is held as a nullity—that the war of a free press is yet to be waged.

We conjure abolitionists to use the press while they may, and so to use it, that the bands which would bind it shall

‘fall asunder like tow at the touch of fire’—so use it that tyrants, and makers of gag-laws, great and small, shall be glad to sell their power for as much respectability as it will fetch.

#### POLITICAL ACTION.

It is contended by some that abolitionists ought to abstain from all political action, and that their cause will be ruined from the moment of its taking a political aspect. Some who claim to be friends of the slave devote themselves, and would have others, exclusively to an appeal to the religious feelings; and as the number of professedly religious men is comparatively small, they sometimes go a step farther back, and suppose that nothing effectual can be done till the mass of men are made speculatively and professedly religious. Thus they step out of the cause, into the work of producing an abstract religion, a sort of quintessence of humanity, which they bottle up as they go along, to be used when there is enough of it to flood the land. But our immediatism has led us to appeal to that religion which will go immediately to work, and which will work by all lawful and right means, trusting that it will enlarge and deepen itself by its own action. The religion we appeal to, is no more out of place in politics than salt is in the ocean. As the bands, which we call in the aid of religion to sunder, were politically created, and are politically sustained, they can only be politically broken. What needs to be done, is, to excite a sympathy for the oppressed which shall make itself felt through the law-making, and the law-executing powers. But the opinions and feelings of the people will not be felt in their legislatures till some effort is made to carry them there. The prostrate cause of bleeding humanity will never rise in our courts of justice, till there are powerful advocates to plead it. That sympathy for the oppressed which does not, from the instant of its birth, operate to reform and purify the abused and perverted law, is thrown away—for if it expends itself in relieving individual cases, it does but prune the tree of oppression that it may strike its roots the deeper in the soil. Political action there must be. Law must be brought back from its unnatural alliance with despotism, before freedom can be established. That religion

which makes a man shrink from his political responsibilities when the foundation principles of justice are to be brought to their position in the structure of human society—when the liberties of millions are at stake, will not, we are constrained to believe, prove a support to the soul when God shall ask, Where is thy brother?

But there is a sort of political action which is greatly to be deprecated. It is the political action of base and selfish men rising into power by the generalship of a party. Political hypocrisy is so common, and has been, time out of mind, that it seems to form the rule, and honesty the exception. It is to be expected that some political wolves will put on the clothing of abolitionism, and seek to elevate themselves and manage the Anti-Slavery organization to secure their own purposes. But they ought to be met on the threshold, and stripped of their disguise. The best safeguard against their entrance is for abolitionists, while they firmly refuse to vote for a man who will not support abolition measures, to avoid setting up candidates of their own. Let every abolitionist follow the leading of his own political principles so long as he can do it without sacrificing the paramount claims of the slave. The fashion with a political party is, to inquire, not whether a candidate is himself true to the *principles* of the party, but whether he is true to some other *man*, whom the party is pledged either to support or oppose. Let it be understood that so far as we act politically, it is only to carry a political measure, and that in doing this we have no preference to employ the men, who have been most active and successful in the moral struggle with the people. These men, be it known to the world, have not faced all manner of obloquy and violence for any reward of honor or office, which the people have to give. While that abolitionist is unworthy of the name who cares a straw for the victory of one or the other political party compared with the abolition of slavery, still less is he worthy of it, who wears it with any other wish than to gain the blessed sight of sundered chains and broken yokes—and to hear the loud acclaim of a North American Jubilee.

Keeping clear of the false or uncertain lights of political leaders, let us follow the pole star of our holy principle, and do all that Christians and freemen can, for those whose oppression has been the sin of our fathers, and is our sin and

shame, from one end of the land to the other. Let us make thorough work of political action.

The disfranchisement of our coloured population to which, we have already referred, is a political wrong which must be attacked politically, and agitated politically till it is politically overthrown. Let the abolitionists in every state petition their own legislature to do justice in this matter by blotting out the laws which attach degradation to color, and withhold the premiums which allure men to virtue. Economy in courts, constables, jails and penitentiaries should of itself long since have taught them to do this.

Upwards of 100,000 persons petitioned the last Congress for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. How their prayer was spurned, we have already seen. But the District of Columbia is not less under the control of Congress, than it was before. The abolition of slavery, the liberation of 25,000 persons, and the creation of a free atmosphere around the sanctuary of our country's liberties, is not less important than it was before. And it is sufficiently important, apart from its relation to the question of slavery in the States, to justify, ten times, nay a thousand times the effort that has ever been made for its accomplishment. It is sufficiently important to demand the attention of Congress, in precedence of any other subject which ever has, or ever can come before it. What is the making or mending of the currency, even supposing Congress clothed with the miraculous power of paying the people's debts by a flourish of pens, compared with the question, whether this nation, as a nation, in the sight of the world, shall go for the principle of *property in man*, or against it? What can wealth do to exalt a nation, compared with righteousness? It may be said that the temper of Congress, and the position of the President, render the effort hopeless. Were we to grant this, present effort would still be immeasurably important, as the ground of future success. In the District of Columbia, we have clear constitutional ground. If we abandon it for once, how are we ever to regain it? If then, 100,000 names have failed, let us send 500,000. Let us, year by year, send up increasing floods of petitions, till our object is gained, or a satisfactory reason is given for refusing it.

The Constitution of the United States, ordains that—

“No person held to service, or labor, in one state, under the laws thereof, esca-

ping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

We have certainly a right to construe an instrument made for the purpose of "establishing justice," which the Constitution of the United States professes to be, as much in accordance with justice, as the language of its provisions will possibly allow. What right have we to take it for granted, that in any of these republican states, a person may be held to service or labor, "under the laws thereof," except as the result of a contract, or of a "due process of law," enjoining the service or labor, as an equivalent for *value received*. Any other supposition, would attribute to the particular state, conduct, not only unjust but unconstitutional. On the natural construction of the language, the Constitution simply forbids the state to discharge the fugitive party from a certain obligation legally incurred in another state, and enjoins his delivery on the claim of the party to whom he is *indebted*. There is nothing in the language to distinguish the claim from an ordinary one of debt. If, then, the Constitution had forbidden the several states to discharge a debtor escaping from one state into another, and had enjoined each state to compel the payment of the debt, on claim of the party to whom it was *due*, where and how would the claim have been adjudicated? Certainly it must have been adjudicated in the jurisdiction where the debtor should be found residing, for the burden of proof lies upon the claimant. And it would have been necessary for the claimant to establish, before a jury, a fair bargain of quid pro quo, under and according to the laws of the state in which it was made, as well as the identity of the debtor. Hence manifestly the claimant in the case of a fugitive from service or labor, has no remedy under the Constitution, unless he can establish before a jury the *indebtedness* of the party claimed to have been holden to service or labor, in any state, under the laws thereof. It is not sufficient for him to prove that the laws of his state permit *slavery*. Slavery is unknown to the Constitution, which declares that no person "shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law."

But in practice, a very different construction has been put upon this clause of the Constitution. By the act of Congress of 1793, in relation to fugitives, &c., a citizen of one state may claim a citizen of another state as his slave, may



select his own magistrate, and having proved to the satisfaction of that magistrate, that the person so claimed is his *slave*, without offering any proof of legal indebtedness, shall have a certificate to remove him into slavery in the state from which he is claimed to have escaped. It is plain, that this law leaves the liberty of the colored citizen, especially, most unrighteously exposed. He is left at the mercy of a single judge, not of his own choosing, without any compulsory power of summoning witnesses. By high authorities this law has been declared to be unconstitutional. It is certainly most unrighteous, and ought to be repealed. Its repeal should be petitioned for, and in the mean time, its validity should be tested, if opportunity should offer, before our judicial tribunals.

The noble example of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in permitting an arrest of the summary process, by a resort to a jury, is worthy to encourage abolitionists to petition for like justice from each of the free States.

Another point on which the most strenuous political action is demanded, is the confinement of slavery within its present limits. The recognition of Texan independence is doubtless but a stepping-stone to its admission into the Union as a brood of slave states. It was slaveholding cupidity that planted in Texas the standard of revolt; and the re-establishment of slavery, abolished by Mexico throughout her entire territory, was the object. The determination of the South to introduce Texas into the Union, is but too apparent. The delay and pretended hesitation have only been resorted to to gain time and get the more smoothly over northern scruples of conscience. There will not be wanting northern men who will sell themselves to the interests of southern oppression in this, as they have done in all other cases, where a price was offered. Says Gen. Houston, in a letter to Gen. R. G. Dunlap, of Tennessee, dated July 3, 1836—

*"There is but one feeling in Texas, in my opinion, and that is to establish the independence of Texas, AND TO BE ATTACHED TO THE UNITED STATES."*

At a Texas meeting held in the city of New-York on the 18th of August, 1836, at which Samuel Swartwout, Esq. presided, and Gov. Hamilton, and Senator Preston of South Carolina, and the Hon. Cornelius W. Lawrence, Mayor of the city of New-York, were among the guests, the follow-

ing toast was proposed by the HON. RICHARD RIKER, Recorder of the city:—

“ May the citizens of Texas remember their father land, and speedily engraft their country on the parent stock.”

The Charleston Mercury gives the following account of the language used by Hon. John C. Calhoun, at a public dinner in that city, since the rising of Congress:—

“ He spoke of Texas, and at that name was interrupted with long and loud cheering; and his concluding words on that topic, pronounced with deep emotion, that ‘ Texas must be annexed to the Union,’ were answered with a universal burst of applause, that showed how glowing was the sympathy of the people of South Carolina with the heroes of San Jacinto. He pointed out clearly the importance to the South of the annexation, &c.”

It remains to be seen, whether there is Christianity, honor, or honesty enough in the United States, to prevent her from overrunning Mexico with her states and her slaves.

Another object of importance, to be accomplished by political action, is the support of freedom and the discountenance of slavery in our foreign relations. With one remarkable exception, it has been our national policy to recognize the independence of every nation which has been able to establish and maintain independence, *de facto*. The right or wrong of the contest has not been inquired into. It was enough for us to know that a people were independent, and resolved to remain so. On this principle, the independence of Texas was recognized at the close of the last session of Congress. The exception we have made in relation to one people, rests on no graver reason than the color of their skin. Hayti, once called St. Domingo, was involved with France in her bloody revolution. Her half million of slaves profited by the lessons taught them by a handfull of pale faces, and rose in rebellion on the 15th of August, 1791. At the request of the French ministers, like true brother slaveholders, we helped the masters to arms and money from the national chest. The slaves at length gained their freedom—not by arms, but by the act of the French Republic. They enjoyed it worthily till 1801, when Buonaparte, finding leisure from the deeper game of European conquest, sent 60,000 of his choicest veterans to reimpose the yoke. But neither their swords nor their more dangerous cunning and perfidy availed. Eighteen months swept them into their inglorious graves, and Hayti was free. Under her own chieftains, she resumed the arts of peace; and so much did her commerce prosper, that its

destruction was thought a matter of importance by the French Emperor, then in the zenith of his power. Unwilling again to risk his troops or his laurels in a war of blood, he resorted with his characteristic energy to a war of starvation! In this honorable business, he found a willing partner in our slaveholding government. An act of Congress was passed in 1806, prohibiting, under forfeiture of vessel and cargo, all commerce with independent Hayti. After a year's trial of this noble and magnanimous warfare, the high belligerent parties—Imperial France, and the Republican United States—had the gratification to find that their mighty effort had had the effect only to throw the commerce of Hayti into the hands of Great Britain! The hero of Italy made his retreat without the sound of trumpet, and the Act of Congress went to its tomb with a private funeral. We presume this piece of liberalism has never been recorded among the glories of our country, and never will be. Since that time, we have enjoyed commerce with Hayti on as favorable terms as any other nation; and if it has not been at all times as safe as it might be, we have, as will presently appear, not much cause for complaint. But before any further remark upon our own relations to Hayti, let us sketch the history of her negotiations with France. Hayti, at first, fell under the leadership of rival chieftains, and France long cherished the hope of profiting by their dissensions. But she hoped in vain. On the restoration of the Bourbons, the French sought Haytian commerce, and were admitted under a masked flag. It was the policy of Hayti to open her ports freely to all who sought them. In 1814, Dauxion Lavaysse was sent to Hayti by the French, with the offer of a treaty; and his proposition was nothing less than that Hayti should acknowledge *the sovereignty of France*. This insult was resented with so much spirit, that the French king thought it politic to disavow an agent who bore instructions under the undeniable signature of his own minister! Two years after, France contented herself with merely asking what she called a *constitutional sovereignty*. In 1821, she reduced her demand to a simple *suzerainie*, or right of *protection*, like that exercised by the British over the Ionian islands. But to all these claims of the right of dominion or protectorship, Hayti returned but one decided NO. In 1823, France waived all other claims, and descended to the negotiation of an *indemnity*; but in

1824, she returned to her claim of the "*exterior sovereignty*," or the control of Haytian commerce, which she was graciously pleased to say to the Haytians, would be, and was only designed to be, *for their own good!* But in the mean time, step by step, Hayti had become consolidated under one republican government, and there was no longer any hope to France that she could recover her lost colony by arms or artifice: it was time, therefore, to make the most of the indemnity in behalf of the French planters, which the Haytian government had from the first offered to pay. For some commercial advantages, and an indemnity of 150,000,000 francs, payable in five yearly instalments, it at last, in 1825, pleased "Charles the Tenth, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre," to recognize Haytian Independence, by his royal ordonnance. Thus ended a negotiation of eleven years, in which France wormed through all the mazes of diplomatic chicanery and perfidy, to subjugate a nation of men whom she despised as stupid, and hated as rebellious slaves, at the same time that she feared to meet them in battle. On the other hand, Hayti stood erect, neither deluded by artifice, wearied out by importunity, nor awed by threats. As to the payment of the indemnity, we have no information but the following passage from a geographical work, published in Paris in 1835. "It is well known, that the chambers of this republic voted the sum of 150,000,000 francs, to indemnify, so far as practicable, the ancient French colonists. *The last instalment has been paid in 1835.* This is a rare example of the kind, and worthy of record."\* Although the payment of this large indemnity by a nation of lately emancipated negroes is almost too much to be believed, even without prejudice, we are at a loss to account for such a statement in a geographical work, and equally so to account for the friendliness of France, except by supposing some arrangement by which the indemnity is effectually secured.

But to return to our own country: although we have a commerce with Hayti about equal to that with Russia; and though there are many nations in Europe at whose courts we support expensive missions with which we have far

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\* On sait que les chambres de cette république ont voté cent cinquante millions pour indemniser, autant qu'il était possible, les anciens colons français. Le dernier dividende a été payé en 1835. C'est un exemple rare en pareil cas, et bon citer.—*L'Amérique, &c.* Paris, 1835.

less commerce, yet we have never recognized the independence of Hayti. On every ground worthy of regard, this is a disgrace to our national character. It gives the lie to all our professions of friendship for human liberty. It will pass down to coming generations as a stain upon our memory. It is time that those who feel any responsibility or have any regard for their country's good name—to say nothing of philanthropy—should bring this matter to the notice of Congress. Let us at least know the reasons why a horde of piratical land agents are to be met on their return from a successful skirmish, and welcomed with all due pomp and form to the platform of nations, while a people who have thrown off a foreign yoke for the best of all reasons, and not only fairly won, but with dignity maintained their independence for thirty-five years, and with whom the commercial interests of our citizens are involved to the amount of two or three millions of dollars per annum, should be utterly neglected—not even recognized by the residence of a consul?

But, not to rest altogether on the higher feelings of our nature, have not some of our citizens reasons of a pecuniary kind to induce them to seek the recognition of Haytian independence? What is it that protects our commerce with Hayti? what, but an honesty on their part, for which we offer but the slightest inducements? Let the following facts testify how much at the mercy of Hayti our complaisance to slaveholders places our fellow-citizens who are engaged in Haytian commerce. King Henry Christophe, as part and parcel of his royalty, seized certain vessels from the United States with their cargoes, and put the proceeds into his royal treasury. The owners of these vessels have since been claimants for indemnity; and while in similar circumstances, indemnity has been recovered for our citizens from the governments of France, Spain, Naples, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Russia, they have been left to manage for themselves. At sundry times these merchants have urged their claims by *special agents*—first, upon King Christophe himself, and since his downfall, upon President Boyer, under whom the whole government was consolidated. King Christophe, it is believed, had the shrewdness to entrench himself behind his royal dignity: he would not treat with the agents because his sovereignty had not been recognized. President Boyer, also, through his able secre-

tary, Inginac, politely informed the agents that he could not treat with them till they were furnished with *regular credentials*, which must of course *recognize* the independence of the government with which they were to treat! What blame our statesmen can attach to these "negroes" for their troublesome scrupulosity about forms and national etiquette, we do not pretend to know; nor do we know whether or not the claims of these merchants have been hushed by men in power, lest they should give "*color to the idea*" on the floor of Congress, that a nation of negroes can take care of themselves. We are not informed whether they have asked Congress or the President to recognize Haytian independence in favor of their claims, or whether they have pocketed their loss in silent dignity. But the facts serve to show how cheerfully we can make ourselves contemptible for the support of our darling national sin.

In closing, the Committee would merely say that they feel constrained, both by the experience of the past and the prospects of the future, to press forward. They throw themselves with renewed confidence upon the holy principles of this precious cause. In advocating these principles, they stand not only upon the safe foundation of the law of God, but fully upon the Constitution of their country. In demanding that slavery shall immediately cease, both in law and fact, in the general and the particular, they neither transcend their own rights, nor seek to impose upon others a wrong. Whether their demand shall be acceded to, they leave to God, well assured that their labor has not been and will not be in vain, inasmuch as liberty is the common cause of human kind; and all we enjoy we owe to the possession of that freedom which we seek for all.

By order of the Executive Committee,

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.

*Sec. of Dom. Cor.*

*New - York, May 8th, 1837.*

## LIST OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

THE figures in the last column, enclosed in parentheses, represent the number of members at the date of the Society's organization; the succeeding figures, the number by the latest report. The list is far from being complete.

## MAINE.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.	
Augusta,	Richard H. Vose, Esq.			50
Bath,	Henry Masters,	March 1833,		
Bloomfield,				
Brunswick,	Rev. G. E. Adams,			
Bridgeton,				
Bowdoin College,	Stephen H. Hayes,	Aug. 1833,	(28)	75
Buxton,	Peter Libby,	March 1836,	(11)	29
<i>Cumberland County,</i>	Prof. W. Smith,	Feb. 1835,		
Cumberland,	Reuben Sweetzer,			
Fairhaven,				
Farmington,	John Titcomb,			
Gardiner,	Joel Cowee,	April 1835,	(5)	50
Gorham,	Charles O. Libby,	Dec. 1835,	(7)	21
Hallowell,	George Shepherd,	Oct. 1833,		
Hebron,		May 1835,		
<i>Kennebec County,</i>				
Limington,	Joseph Brackett,	March 1836,	(25)	83
MAINE, (State)	Rev. G. E. Adams,	Oct. 1834,		
Monot,	Benjamin Johnson,	April 1836,		
Mount Desert,	Rev. C. L. Carey,	May 1834,		149
New Sharon,	Samuel Mason,			
North Yarmouth,	Nathan Ode,	Oct. 1834,	(22)	136
<i>Oxford County,</i>				
Portland,		March 1833,		40
Portland, (Young Men's)	James M. Dodge,	Oct. 1834,		58
Portland, (Female)	Mrs. Miriam Hussey,	April 1834,	(74)	80
Turner,				90
Vassalboro,				
Waterville,				
Walnut Hill,	Jno. W. Cookin,	March 1836,	(14)	
Wayne,				
Weld,	Jacob Abbot, Esq.			
Winthrop,	Stephen Sewall, Esq.	March 1834,	(30)	103
Total number of Societies, 33.				

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.	
Alexandria.	L. B. Sawyer,	June 1836,	(56)	67
Alstead, (Cheshire)	James F. Igham,	May 1836,	(55)	69
Bedford,	Dr. Peter P. Woodbury,	Dec. 1835,	(30)	64
Boscawen, (East Parish)	Capt. Joseph Morrill,	June 1835,		70

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.
Boscawen, (Young Men's)	F. P. Atkinson,	June 1836,	35
Bradford,	David Bayley,	March 1836,	35
Bristol,	Dr. Jacob S. Eaton,	Sept. 1835,	14
Canaan,	George Harris,	April 1835,	(70) 100 130
Campton,	Davis Baker, Esq.	Feb. 1834,	63
Chester,	Amos Chase,	Sept. 1835,	(68) 70
Chichester,	J. W. Fowle,	July 1835,	73.
Concord,	Albe Cady	June 1834,	100.
Concord, (Female)	Miss Mary Clarke,	Nov. 1834,	(104) 120, 129.
Concord, (Juvenile)	Alexander H. Kent,	Dec. 1835,	63.
Dartmouth College,	Cyrus P. Bradlee,	Aug. 1835,	66.
Dirchester,	Rev. W. Le Bosquet,	Oct. 1836,	16.
Dover,	A. H. Alden,	Aug. 1835,	121.
Dover, (Female)	Miss Elizabeth Weeeler,	Feb. 1835,	382.
Dover, (Young Men's)	Dr. A. G. Tenney,	Aug. 1835,	66.
Dunbarton,	Deacon Daniel H. Parker,	Aug. 1834,	80.
Franconia,	Jacob L. Hall,	Jan. 1837,	13.
Gilmanton,		Sept. 1836,	
Goffstown,	David A. Bunton,	April 1835,	(35) 160.
Grafton County,	Rev. D. J. Robinson,	Sept. 1836,	
Granham,	Edward A. Rice,	Nov. 1835,	(20) 25.
Granham, (Female)	Miss Emeline Cone,	Nov. 1835,	30.
Great Falls,	Theodore B. Moses,	Dec. 1834,	(101) 376
Hampton Falls,	N. Ambrose,		
Haverhill,	T. K. Blaisdell,	July 1835,	(55) 95.
Hebron,	Geo. Woodworth,	Oct. 1836,	68.
Henniker,	Rev. Amos Kidder,	1835,	
Hopkinton,	Stephen Blanchard,	July 1835,	
Kingston,	Joseph Eastman,	1835,	50.
Loudon,	Dr. James B. Abbott,	May 1835,	30.
Lyne,	Wenas Hamilton,	Nov. 1836,	(137) 244.
Mason,	C. E. Eastman,	1837,	
New Grantham,			
N. Hampton, (Theo.Sem.)	Edward R. Reynolds,	Aug. 1834,	30.
NEW HAMPSHIRE, (State)	John Farmer, Esq.	Nov. 1834,	
N.H.Conference, (M.E.C.)			
New Ipswich,	William Hewes,	April 1836,	45.
New Ipswich, (Academy),	Ira Russell,	Aug. 1836,	
New Market,	Timothy Murray,	Jan. 1836,	(41) 50.
New Market, (Female)	Hannah B. Cross,	Feb. 1836,	(90) 105 130.
New Port, (Sullivan Co.)	John Wilcox,	Dec. 1836,	45.
Northfield & Sanbornton	D. Sanborn,	Mar. 1835,	135.
Orange,	Wm. Loomis,	Mar. 1837,	(25) 30.
Peeling, (Grafton Co.)	Rev. Francis Ropes,	Oct. 1836,	38.
Peterborough,	Rufus Hyde,	Feb. 1837,	53.
Pittsfield,	Dr. Jeremiah Blake,	May 1835,	20.
Pittsfield, (Ladies)		July 1835,	
Plymouth,	N. P. Rogers, Esq.	Dec. 1833,	(100) 140.
Plymouth, (Female)	Mrs. N. P. Rogers,	Feb. 1834,	102.
Portsmouth,	J. P. Cooper,	1833,	
Portsmouth, (Ladies)	Miss Mary Mann,	1836,	
Rochester,	Dr. John M. Berry,	Feb. 1836,	40.
Rockingham,	J. E. Hood,	March 1837,	
Sandown,	David French,	May 1836,	29.
Sandwich, (Grafton Co.)		Sep. 1835,	63.
Sandwich, (Female)		Oct. 1836,	63
Tamworth,	Tristram Mason,	July 1836,	86
Weare, (Female)	Ann Page,	May 1837,	
Weave, (Young Men)	Moses A. Cartland,	May 1837,	

Total number of Societies, 62.



## VERMONT.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
<i>Addison County,</i>	Oliver Johnson,	July, 1835, 1836,	
Albany,			
Andover,			
Barnet & Ryegate,	Wm. McLeran,	March, 1834,	(25) 130
Bennington,	James Ballard,	July, 1835,	140
Benson,		1836,	68
Berkshire,	Dea. Stone,	Jan. 1837,	75
Berlin,	Francis Hilbury,	1837,	63
Brandon,	Ephraim Marcham,	Feb. 1836,	(21) 75
Bristol,		March, 1835,	
Brookfield,	F. Blood,		100
Burlington,		Nov. 1836,	
Cabot, (Caledonia Co.)	John R. Putnam,	Feb. 1831,	(75) 300
<i>Caledonia County,</i>	Rev. W. Seales, (Lyndon.)	Sep. 1836,	
Cambridge,	W. H. Law, Esq.,	1837,	200
Chester,	Wm. Arrington,	July, 1834,	60
Colchester,			
Concord,	David Hibbard,	Jan. 1837,	70
Cornwall,	Oliver J. Eelbs,	July, 1833,	(8) 167
Craftsbury,	Sam. M. Wilson,		140
Danville,	Sam. Collins,		
East Barnard,	Lyman Belknap,	Feb. 1837,	56
East Bethel,	Rev. Dan. Crane,	Feb. 1837,	81
East Williamstown,	J. S. C. Farnham,	Dec. 1837,	70
Enosburgh,	Sam. Kendall,	Dec. 1834,	150
Essex,	Rev. Chester Ingraham,	Jan. 1837,	70
Fairfax,	Elijah R. Grant,	1836,	100
Fairfield,	Joel Barber,		
Fayston,			
Ferrysburgh and vicinity.	R. T. Robinson, (Ferrisb'g)	March, 1834,	(67) 205
<i>Franklin County,</i>	A. O. Aldis (St. Abans.)	Oct. 1836,	
Franklin,	P. Chase, (Berkshire Mills)	Jan. 1836,	(150) 300
Georgia,	Horatio Goodwiel,	Jan. 1836,	(115) 300
Glover,		1836,	
Granville,		1835,	
Greensbury,	Scott,	1836,	
Hancock,		Jan. 1835,	
Hardwick, (Caledonia Co.)	Rev. Chester Wright,	Nov. 1836,	57
Hinesburgh,	John Ide,	1836,	
Jamaica,	Joel Holton,	April 1833,	
Jericho,	Truman Galusha,	Nov. 1834,	
Johnson,	Rev. Albert Stone,	1835,	200
Kirby, (Caledonia Co.)			(40) 100
Lunenburg, (Essex Co.)			
Ludlow,	Abishar Stoddard,	June, 1837,	
Lyndon, (Essex Co.)	Ezra E. Adams,	Jan. 1837,	(100) 200
Middlebury,	Oliver Johnson,	Jan. 1835,	(14) 175
Milton,	Mr. N. Blake, (West P. O.)		
Montgomery,	Rev. Luther Cole,	Jan. 1837,	
Monkton,		April, 1836,	50
Montpelier,	C. L. Knapp,	Oct. 1835,	(50) 100
Newbury Center,	Jno. Stephenson,	April, 1835,	(48) 91
Newbury Town,	Dr. Carter,	1836,	(44) 64
New Haven,	E. S. Hinman,	Aug. 1836,	103
Newark,			
North Fairfax,	Jno. H. Richardson,	March, 1837,	60
North Fairfield,	Elias H. Sherman,	March, 1836,	(44) 64
Northfield,	Elijah Smith, Jun.,	Dec. 1836,	54
North Lyndon,	Rodolphus Walker,	Jan. 1837,	

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.	
<i>Orleans County,</i>	Col. Abraham Stinson,	Jan. 1837,		65
Orwell,				
Peacham,	Dr. Zebina K. Pangborn,	Aug. 1833,		
Richford,	Eli Goff,			
Rochester,	A. Eaton,	Jan. 1835,	(43)	54
Rutland,				
Ruport,	A. Johnson,	Jan. 1834,		
Sheffield,	Jos. Ide,	Feb. 1837,		
Shoreham,				80
St. Albans,	C. L. Jones,			
St. Johnsbury,	Rev. J. Morn, (St. J. Centr.)	Jan. 1837,		
Sudbury,				
Starksboro' and Lincoln,	A. Hawkins, (Starksboro')	April 1834,	(430)	485
Swanton,	Geo. Roundes, (East P. O.)	Jan. 1837,		
Topsham,	Moses A. Duttan,	1836,		
Townsend,	Dr. J. Holton,	March 1836,		
Underhill,	Ralph Woodruff,	Jan. 1837,	(84)	150
VERMONT, (State)	O. S. Murray,	May 1834,		
Waitsfield,	Thomas Smith,	Feb. 1834,		
Waitsfield, (Female)	Elvin S. Knight,	Sept. 1836,		
Walden,	Rev. Elisha B. Baxter,	Feb. 1834,		60
<i>Washington County,</i>	Rev. G. Putnam, (of Barn)	May 1836,		
Wallingford,				
West Fairfa,	—— Stone,	1836.		
Westford, (Chil'ns & Inf's)	Reuben Farnsworth,	Nov. 1834,		330
West Randolph,	Henry H. Brown,	Feb. 1837,		
Weybridge,		March 1834,		
Whiting,		April 1834,		
<i>Windham County,</i>		March 1836,		138
Wilmington,	W. Stearns,			

Whole number of Societies, 89.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.	
Abington,	Nath. H. Whiting, (E. A.)	March 1836,	(40)	363
Abington, (East)				
Acton,				50
Amesbury Mills,	W. Carruthers,	Dec. 1833,		
Amesbury, (Female)	Miss Betsy Linscott,	Dec. 1833,		70
Amherst, (North Parish)		Feb. 1836,		
Andover,	S. H. Emery,	Jan. 1835,		400
Ashburnham,	Gilman Jones,	Nov. 1834,		
Attleborough,	Nathaniel Wright,			50
Barnstable,	Rev. Dr. Cheesman,	Feb. 1835,		
Boston, (Young Men's)	S. O. Torry,	Sept. 1833,	(20)	109
Boston, (Ladies')	Miss A. W. Weston,	Oct. 1833,		
Boston, (Juvenile)		April 1837,	(12)	300
Boxboro,	Samuel Hayward,	June 1835,		
Boxboro, (Female)	Mrs. E. Hayward,	June 1835,		60
Bradford,	Dr. George Cogswell,			
Bradford, West, (Female)	Sarah C. Reynolds,	Aug. 1836,		40
Bradford, East, (Female)	Miss Ellen B. Ladd,	Oct. 1836,		
<i>Bristol County,</i>	Hodges Reed, Esq.	Nov. 1836,		75
Brewster, (Barnstable Co.)	Robert C. Crosby,	June 1837,		
Buckland,				43
Cambridge,				

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMES.
Cambridgeport,			
Charlemont,	Emory Greenleaf,	Dec. 1836,	50
Charlestown,		April 1837,	50
Chelmsford,	Charles B. Thompson,	March 1837,	137
Cowper, (Boston)	Stephen Vialle, Jr.	Sept. 1835,	(24) 30
Cummington,			
Danvers,		April 1837,	30
Danvers, (Female)		April 1837,	
Dorchester,	Rev. David Sandford,	April 1835,	(19) 255
Dorchester, (Female)	Sarah Baker,	Dec. 1835,	(108) 130
Dukes County,	Dea. Charles G. Athearn,	1837,	
East Cambridge,	Gilbert Robins,	1837,	
East Brookfield,	Oliver C. Felton,		
East Randolph,	Rev. David Brigham,	March 1836,	46
Edgartown,	Daniel Felton,	1837,	
Eel River, (Plymouth Co.)	Nath. Lenard,		(50) 12
Essex County,	John G. Whittier,	June 1834,	130
Essex Street, (Boston)	John A. Allen,	May 1835,	50
Fall River,	Gilbert H. Durfee,	July 1834,	(112) 279
Fall River, (Female)	Miss Sarah G. Buffum,	July 1835,	(106) 175
Foxborough,	Otis Hodges,		
Franklin County,	Rev. T. Packard, Jr.	Dec. 1836,	33
Franklin,	Milton M. Fisher,		
Freetown,		July 1833,	
Groton,	C. B. Farnsworth,	Oct. 1834,	(80) 100
Groton, (Female)	Elizabeth Farnsworth,	March 1836,	(12) 110
Groton, (Juvenile Female)			
Greenfield,	C. C. Munsell,	Nov. 1836,	92
Hapden County,	Rev. J. Porter, (N. Wilb'm)	1837,	
Hanover,	Rev. Robert B. Dickie,	June 1835,	65
Hardwick,	Lyman Snow,	June 1837,	62
Hawley,	Hezekiah Warriner, Jr.	Dec. 1836,	(108) 130
Haverhill,		April 1834,	(24) 100
Haverhill, (Female)	Miss Harriet Minot,		
Haverhill, East, (Female)		1836,	40
Holden,	Charles White,		
Holliston,	Bucklin Fitts,	July 1834,	(40) 100
Hatfield,		Nov. 1834,	
Heath,	Edmund P. Farnsworth,	July 1836,	60
Kingston,	Stephen Bradford, Jr.	Nov. 1834,	(75) 80
Littleton,	Col. Harwood,	March 1837,	75
Lowell,		March 1834,	(75) 80
Lowell, (Female)	Mrs. Nathaniel Thurston,	Dec. 1834,	180
Lowell, (Young Men's)	Samuel A. Brown,	Jan. 1836,	110
Lynn,	Edward S. Davis,	April 1832,	(5) 185
Lynn, (Female)	Anna Porinton,	May 1835,	90
Lynn, (Young Men's)	Edwin Thompson,	Oct. 1836,	
Lynn, (Juvenile)			
Lynn, (Juvenile Female)			
Marshfield, (Juvenile)		1837,	
MASSACHUSETTS, (State)	Wm. L. Garrison,	Jan. 1832,	
Middleboro,	Nathl. A. Eddy,	Dec. 1834,	39
Middlefield,			
Middlesex County,	Rev. J. Cross,	Oct. 1834,	
Millbury,	Elias Lovell,	Dec. 1834,	(50) 100
Millville, (Female)	Miss Abby Pitts,	July 1836,	29
Monson,	Dr. J. Bagg,	March 1837,	
Nantucket,	Edward J. Pomprey,		
Natick,		Dec. 1836,	90
Newburyport and vicinity,		April 1834,	100
Newburyport (Female)	Miss Susan C. Wood,	May 1834,	(80) 112
Newbury, (Byfield Parish)			

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMES.
New Bedford,	John Borage,	July 1834,	(30) 120
New Bedford, (Y. Men's)	H. W. Lee,	Feb. 1836,	(50) 75
New Rowley,	Daniel Palmer,	May 1834,	(96) 102
North Carver,	E. Harlow,	March 1836,	(23) 47
Northfield,	Jonathan Cutting,	April 1836,	
Northampton,	Sylvester Judd,	May 1836,	
North D.s. Edgarton,		1837,	
North Leverett,			
Norton,			
North Leicester, (Female)	Eliza Earle,		
North Sunderland,	T. Robinson,		
Norwich,	David Sanford,		30
Old Colony,	George Russell,		
Old Hampshire,	Isaac Clarke,	Jan. 1836,	200
Peru,	Samuel Cone,	March 1837,	137
Pine Street, (Boston)	Charles C. Barry,	June 1834,	30
Plymouth County,	George Russell,	July 1834,	(53) 91
Plymouth,	Dr. Thomas Drew,		(30) 50
Reading,	Wm. Wakefield, Jr.	March 1833,	
Reading, (Female)	Mrs. Cynthia Pendexter,	March 1833,	
Roxbury, (Female)	Mrs. John Jones,	April 1837,	30
Salem and vicinity,	Rev. G. B. Cheever,	Jan. 1834,	(70) 469
Salem, (Female)	Miss L. L. Dodge,		153
Salem Street, (Boston)			
Scituate,	Jacob Vinal,		
Shelburn Falls,	Ralph B. Birdell,	Oct. 1836,	90
Shrley,			
South Brookfield,	O. B. Felton,	Jan. 1837,	52
South Deerfield,	Dea. Z. Graves,	Dec. 1836,	35
South Hadley Canal,			
South Reading,	Rev. Isaac Sawyer,	April 1834,	73
South Reading, (Female)	Miss M. A. Avery,	Dec. 1835,	(12) 33
South Weymouth,	Jacob Lond,	May 1836,	
S. Weymouth, (Female)	Mrs. E. T. Lond,	Nov. 1835,	(132) 152
Stockbridge,	Amos Avery,	June 1836,	100
Sudbury, (Female)	Miss Mary Rice,		
Taunton,	Hodges Reed,	May 1835,	100
Taunton, (Juvenile)		1837,	
Townsend,			
Uxbridge,	Richard Battey,	March 1834,	310
Uxbridge, (Female)	Sylvia Willard,	March 1836,	57
Walpole,	Eliphabet Rhodes,	1837,	
Waltham,	G. A. Williams,		
Ware,			150
Ware Village,	Amos Merriam,	March 1837,	
West Amesbury,	Rev. Mr. Eaton,	April 1837,	
West Hampton,	Francis Lond,		
West Hawley,	Ebenezer Crosby,		
West Harwich,			20
West Tisbury,		1837,	
Westford,	George Brown,	March 1837,	100
Weston,	Lewis Gougas,		
Weymouth,	James Whittemore,	April 1836,	133
Weymouth, (Female)	Mrs. H. C. Fifield,	Sept. 1835,	(30) 46
Williams College,			
Williamanset,			
Woburn,	Henry A. Woodman,	Nov. 1834,	
Worcester,	John R. Morse,	March 1835,	
Worcester Co. (North)		Jan. 1836,	
Worcester Co. (South)	George Allan,	Feb. 1836,	
Wrentham,	Joseph B. Gerauld,		

Whole number of Societies, 145.

## RHODE ISLAND.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Assonet,			
Barrington,		Jan. 1836,	40
Centreville,		Jan. 1834,	53
Coventry,	Wm. Henry Anthony,		
Cumberland,			
<i>Kent County</i> , (Y. Men's),	Asa Sisson, (Coventry,)	Aug. 1835,	(75) 102
Little Compton,	Charles Milburn,	Dec. 1836,	47
Natick,			125
Natick, (Female,)			150
Natick, (Young Men,)			
Newport, (Juvenile,)			
North Scituate,			220
Pawtucket,	Jos. Sisson, Jr.,	Jan. 1834,	(30) 136
Pawtucket, (Female,)	Mrs. Wm. Adams,	Feb. 1835,	(70) 100
Pawtucket, (Juvenile,)			
Phoenix and Arkwright,			
Providence,		June 1833,	110
Providence, (Female,)	Mrs. Harriet L. Truesdell,	April 1835,	(101) 130
Providence, (Juv. Female,)	Miss Almira Bolles,	Dec. 1834,	35
RHODE ISLAND (State)	William Drown,	Feb. 2d, 1836,	313
Smithfield and vicinity,	Aaron White, Jun.,	Nov. 1835,	200
Smithfield, (Female,)	Miss Mary Rathbone,	Aug. 1836,	(50) 58
Tiverton & Little Compton,	Dr. G. Sexton,	April 1837,	34
Union, (Fiskeville,)	George J. Adams,	Jan. 1836,	(8) 112
Valley Falls,		1835,	70

Whole number of Societies, 25.

## CONNECTICUT.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Barkhamstead,	Nelson Gilbert,	April 1837,	50
Brooklyn,	Herbert Williams,	March 1835,	
Brooklyn, (Female,)	F. M. B. Burleigh,	July 1834,	(22) 53
Canton,	Lancel Foot,		25
Chaplin,	Dea. Jared Clark,	June 1836,	
Colebrook,	Jno. H. Rodgers,	June 1836,	90
Deep River,	Jos. H. Mather,	July 1835,	60
East Hampton,			28
Farmington,	Thomas Cowles,	Feb. 1836,	(40) 70
Greenville,	Wm. H. Coit,	1836,	
Greenville, (Female,)	Miss Louisa Humphrey,	Jan. 1836,	(37) 80
Hanover (town of Lisbon,)	Dea. Wm. Lee, (Hanover)	April 1837,	
Hartford,	S. B. Mosley,	March 1837,	120
Lebanon, (Goshen,)	Orrin Gilbert,	March 1837,	30
Lisbon,	Dea. Wm. Lee,	March 1837,	
Mansfield,	Dr. H. Skinner,	Dec. 1837,	300
Middle Haddam,			30
<i>Middlesex County</i> ,	S. W. Griswold,	Nov. 1836,	
Middletown,	S. W. Griswold,	Feb. 1834,	(83)
Middletown (Fem. col'd,)	Mrs. Clarissa M. Beman,		
New Haven,	J. E. P. Dean, Esq.,	June 1833,	
New Haven, (Female,)	Mrs. Leicester A. Sawyer,	Jan. 1837,	50
Newstead, (Erie county,)	Daniel Trowbridge,		48
Norwich and vicinity,	Alpheus Kingsley,		
Norwich, (Female,)	Miss F. M. Caulkins,		
Plainfield,	C. C. Burleigh,	Aug. 1833,	(43) 64
Pomfret,			
South Cornwall,	Ezekiel Birdseye,	Jan. 1837,	40
South Killingly,	Almond Ames,	Mar. 1837,	
Torrington,	Dr. Erasmus D. Hudson,		(36) 67

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.
Waterbury,	S. S. Deforest,	July 1836,	(16) 57
Warren,	Geo. P. Talmadge,	May 1836,	27
West Woodstock & vicin.	James R. Guild,		
Winchester Center,	Noble J. Everett,		12
Winhamtre, (Female)			
Windham County,	Thomas Huntington,	May 1834,	
Windham & Winhamtic,	Thos. Gray, Esq.,	March 1836,	
Winstead, (Winchester,)			50
Wolcottville,		Jan. 1837	40

Whole number of Societies, 39.

### NEW-YORK.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.
Aaronville, (Erie Co.)	Rev. Solomon Gale,	Dec. 1836,	(39) 125
Adamsville,		July 1836,	
Albany,	Otis Allen,	May 1835,	200
Albany, (Coloured,)	J. G. Stewart,	April 1836,	
Alden, (Erie Co.)			
Almon, (Allegheny Co.)			
Allegheny County,	Rev. Moses Hunting,	April 1835,	50
Amity, (Allegheny Co.)	John May,	Jan. 1837,	12
Amsterdam.		Nov. 1835,	
Angelica, (Allegheny Co.)	Asa S. Allen,	July 1835,	70
Antwerp, (Jefferson Co.)	J. A. Northrop,	Dec. 1835,	110
Arcade, (Genesee Co.)	C. O. Shepherd,	June 1835,	(74) 98
Ashville, (Chatauque.)	Enoch Morgan,	Jan. 1837,	162
Attica, (Genesee Co.)	Dr. H. M. Wells,	Feb. 1837,	155
Auburn, (Theo. Sem.)	John J. Keep,		
Augusta,		Feb. 1837,	60
Beekmantown,	Dr. Barack Beekwith,	April 1837,	40
Bergen,	Richard Crampton,	Feb. 1837,	50
Bethany, (Genesee Co.)	A. Chapman,	1836,	
Boston, (Erie Co.)	Dr. Terrey,	Dec. 1836,	250
Brighton, (Monroe Co.)	Gardener Mudge,	Sept. 1835,	40
Brockport, (Munroe Co.)	C. J. B. Mount,	Dec. 1836,	50
Buffalo,	E. A. Maish,		
Buffalo, (Female)	Miss Harriet Rossiter,	Sept. 1835,	40
Buffalo, (Erie Co.)	A. S. Baker,		
Busti, (Chautauque Co.)			
Buxton, (Cattaraugus)	J. Lathrop,	Jan. 1837,	31
Cambria, (Niagara Co.)	Daniel Alvord,	Jan. 1837,	33
Carroll, (Chautauque Co.)			
Castile,	W. Wilcox,		
Catskill,	Charles Sturtevant,	May 1835,	30
Cazenovia,	Welford Wilson,	March 1835,	
Ceres & Genessee,	Daniel Edwards,	June 1837,	39
Chatham st. Chapel, (Fem)	Dorcas W. Bell,		
Champlain,	Julius Churchill,		
Champlain, (Female,)	Mrs. P. Moore,	April 1837,	40
Chauteaugay,	G. W. P. Beeman,	March 1836,	68
Chataugue County,	James Van Buren,	Jan. 1837,	
Chesterfield, (Clinton,)		Feb. 1837,	
Chili, (Munroe Co.)			20
Churchill, (Munroe Co.)	E. C. Debb'e,	Feb. 1837,	50
Cincinnati,	Lewis T. Halley,	March 1835,	60
Clinton County,	John Baker,	April 1837,	
Clinton,			
Clymer, (Chautauque Co.)	Daniel P. Phinney,	Jan. 1837,	25
Colden, (Erie Co.)	Alon Dutton,	Jan. 1837,	162

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Copenhagen,	Charles Lond,		61
Cortland County,	Simeon S. Bradford,	April 1837,	135
Cuba,	Kendall Wilder,		
Delbitville, (Chatauque),	Thos. Cook, (President)		50
Delaware County.	Rev. Fayette Sheppard,	Jan. 1837,	
Deerfield,	Henry Fowler,	Feb. 1837,	30
Deposit, (Delaware Co.)	Benj. R. Nickerson,	Aug. 1836,	70
Dunkirk, (Chatauque Co.)			
Eden, (Erie Co.)	Lyman Pratt,	Nov. 1835,	(15) 150
Ellery,	Rev. Caleb Van Ness,	1835,	
Ellicottville Cataraugus,	J. M. Burlingame,	Jan. 1837,	140
Erie County,	L. Album Skinner,	Oct. 1835,	
Evans, (Erie Co.)		Dec. 1836,	
Evans, East, (Erie Co.)		Dec. 1836,	
Farmington, (Ontario)	Richard Hathaway,	March 1837,	100
Farmington, (Female)	Eliza B. Smith,	April 1837,	32
Farmersville, (Cataraugus)			
Fenner, (Madison)		April 1836,	
Fifth Free Church, (N. Y.)			
Floyd, (Onedia)	Clark Bradish,	June, 1837,	40
Fourth F. Church, (N. Y.)	Mr. Sprague,		
Florence,	James S. Hascall,	Feb. 1837,	40
Franklin, (Delaware)	Joseph H. Merrick,		
Fort Ann, (Wash. Co.)	Wm. Barnes,	Aug. 1835,	
Franklinville,	Merlin Mead,	Feb. 1834,	53
Franklin Free Church,	Wm. P. Johnson,		
Frank. Inst. (Fowlerville)	Clark L. Capron,	June 1837,	
Friendship, (Allegheny)	S. L. Davidson,	Jan. 1837,	55
Fulton, (Schoharie)	A. P. Knox, Esq.		40
Genessee County,	C. O. Shephard,	May 1835,	
Geneva, (Colored)	James W. Duffin,	Jan. 1837,	32
Genoa, (Cayuga)	Archelaus Chadwick,	June 1837,	60
Greece, (Murooe)	Elisha M. Brookway,	May 1836,	
Greenbush,		April 1835,	70
Greenwich,	Edwin Andrews,	July 1835,	
Griffins Mills,		Sep. 1835,	
Hamilton,	Thomas Potheary,		
Hamilton College,	W. Richardson,	May 1835,	(16) 23
Hamburg, (Erie)	H. C. Hickok,	Dec. 1836,	
Haight, (Allegheny Co.)	S. L. Davidson,	Jan. 1837,	30
Hannibal,	J. W. Brewster,	July 1836,	30
Hartford,	John Carlisle,		
Hartwick,	William Davison,	Dec. 1836,	
do. Seminary & vicinity,	S. Ottman,	Jan. 1837,	(27) 31
Hartland, (Niagara)	David H. Cook,	Nov. 1836,	320
Hebron,	Dr. David Martin,		
Holland Patent,			
Homer,	Simeon S. Bradford,	Dec. 1835,	(26) 500
Hudson, (Female)	Maria Mariott,	Nov. 1833,	19
Huntsville,	Bradly Blakeley,	Feb. 1836,	
Jamestown, (Chataugua)	Russell Jones,		200
Jasper, (Steuben Co.)	Dr. J. Read, (Prentice)	July 1836,	(16) 205
Java,			
Jay,	Franklin Storer,	Oct. 1835,	100
Jefferson County,			
Johnstown,	Robert Kirkpatrick,	Nov. 1836,	
Knowlesville, (Orleans)	Rev. J. Thalmer,	Jan. 1837,	50
Knowlesville, (Female)	Mrs. A. Burt,	Jan. 1837,	50
Keesville, (Clinton Co.)	Andrew Kees,	Feb. 1837,	
Lausing, (Tomkins)	Mr. Crawford,	June 1837,	100

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.	
Lancaster, (Erie)				
Lebanon,	Ezra Campbell,	Dec. 1835,	(8)	40
Ledyard,		March 1835,	(13)	104
Lenox,	Ward Walton,	Dec. 1836,		100
Le Roy,	Seth M. Gates, Esq.	Sept. 1835,	(100)	300
Le Roy and Bergen,	Seth M. Gates, Esq.	Feb. 1837,	(90)	200
<i>Leuis County,</i>	Henry Page Esq.	Aug. 1835,		
Leyden,	Ezra Carter,	May 1834,	(17)	56
Lincktaen,	John A. Howes,	June 1834,		60
Litchfield, (Herkimer)	B. B. Gaylord,	Nov. 1835,	(178)	218
Little Valley,	Lyman Culvar,	Jan. 1837,		24
Lodi, (Erie Co.)	George N. Starr,	Feb. 1837,	(108)	112
Lockport,	L. A. Spalding,	March 1836,	(36)	100
Lockport, (Wesleyan)	J. B. Barnes,	Sept. 1836,		
Lyons, (Wayne Co.)		April 1837,		25
Macedon, do.		May 1837,		35
<i>Madison County,</i>	C. Jenkins,	May 1836,		280
Madison, (Madison Co.)	Dea. Philip Tompkins,	Dec. 1836,		41
Maulius,	John M'Vickar,	June 1836,	(60)	112
Mapoli, (Cattaraugus Co.)	Phineas F. Noble,	Jan. 1837,		76
Marshall, (Onedia.)	Rufus Pratt,	June 1837,		
Mexico,		1835,		
Milford,	Parker Scott,	Dec. 1836,		28
Milville,	Rev. Richard Dunning,	Dec. 1835,	(20)	40
<i>Munroe County,</i>	Dr. W. W. Reid,			
Moore's Society, (Chilton)	J. A. Shelden,	Sept. 1836,	(30)	68
Moriah, (Essex Co.)	Rev. Bishop Isbelle,	April 1835,		
Morrisville,		April 1836,	(80)	100
Mount Morris,	Reuben Sleeper,	May 1837,		50
Murray, (Orleans,)	Mr. Benedict,	March 1837,		40
New Fane, (Niagara)	Joseph Brown,			
New Hartford,	Dr. U. H. Kellogg,			
New Haven (Otsego Co.)				
New Lisbon, do.	H. Pettingell,	1837,		18
N. Sweden & Clintonville,	Lewis Woodard Pierce,	April 1837,		40
New Stead, (Erie Co.)	Daniel Trowbridge,			48
NEW-YORK, (State)	Rev. B. Green,	Oct. 1835,		625
New-York, (City)		Oct. 1833,	(24)	
New-York, (Young Men)	J. F. Robinson, Esq.	May 1834,		
New-York, (Female)	Mrs. A. L. Cox,	April 1835,		
<i>Niagara County,</i>	Lyman A. Spalding,	April 1836,		578
Niagara, (Niagara Co.)				
North Bergen,		March 1836,		200
Norway, (Herkimer Co.)	David Humphreyville,	June 1836,		
Nunda,		July 1835,		160
Ogden, (Munroe Co.)				
Orangeville, (Genessee)	James Wadsworth,	Feb. 1837,	(120)	150
<i>Oneida County,</i>	Pelctiah Rawson,	May 1835,		
Oneida Institute,	Wm. Hunter,	June 1833,	(30)	90
Oneida Castle,				30
Oriskany,	C. C. Chaffler,	July 1835,		40
<i>Orleans County,</i>	O. S. Powell,	June 1836,		
<i>Oswego County,</i>	Starr Clark,	Oct. 1835,	(37)	182
<i>Otsego County,</i>		1835,		
Otsego,	Martin Bridges,	Jan. 1836,		31
Palermo, (Otsego Co.)				
Palmyra,		Feb. 1836,		
Panama, (Chautauque Co.)	Enoch Morgan,	Jan. 1837,		25
Parma Centre (Monroe Co.)	Geo. W. Andrews,	Dec. 1836,	(35)	140
Paris,	Wm. Walker,	August 1835,		167



NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMES.
Perry,	Josiah Andrews,	Feb. 1835,	(150) 350
Perrysburgh, (Cattaraugus)	D. D. Parker,	Feb. 1837,	51
Berrinton,	Justus Beardsley,	Aug. 1835,	(30) 70
Peru, (Clinton Co.)	John H. Barker,	Feb. 1837,	
Peru, (Female,)	H. P. Barker,	Dec. 1833,	(44) 476
Peruville,	Charles S. Rowlee,	June 1837,	36
Phenix, (Juvenile, N. Y.)	Lewis H. Tappan,		100
Pike,			
Pittsford,	James Linnell,	Jan. 1837,	(55) 100
Pitcher,	Dr. David McWharton,	June 1837,	60
Pompey, (Onondaga Co.)	O. J. Wheaton,	April 1837,	15
Pompey, (Female,)	Miss Mary Ann Gillett,	April 1837,	100
Porter,	Elder Olney,	April 1837,	75
Poughkeepsie,	John L. Duzenburg,	March 1835,	(13) 62
Poundridge, (Westchester)	Jos. Scofield,	March 1837,	12
Randolph, (Cattaraugus)	Dan. Nichols,	Jan. 1837,	33
Riceland, (Oswego Co.)	W. H. Pettit,	April 1835,	(13) 85
Richmond, (Ontario Co.)	E. Pierce, (Honey Lake)	Dec. 1836,	(60) 145
Ridgeville,	Joshua W. Fiske,		60
Riga, (Monroe Co.)	Joshua P. Rogers,	Feb. 1837,	65
Ripley,			95
Rochester City,	G. A. Avery,		700
Rochester, (Fem. colored)			
Rochester, (Female,)	Mrs. Susan Porter,	Sept. 1835,	(40) 400
Roger Williams, (N. Y.)	Rev. J. N. Horner,	March 1837,	51
Rome,	Benjamin P. Johnson,	July 1834,	184
Royalton, (Niagara Co.)	Wm. Adams, (Middleport)		300
Rushford, (Allegheny Co.)	Joel Griffin,	Jan. 1837,	33
Russia,	Josiah Pardee,	Jan. 1837,	30
Rutledge, (Cattaraugus)	George F. Fort,	Feb. 1837,	39
Salisbury,		Jan. 1837,	20
Sandlake,			
Sanquoit, (Female)	Emily Priest,	May 1835,	(20) 44
Sardinia, (Erie Co.,)		Dec. 1836,	(55) 125
Sawyersfield,	Jeremiah Clark,	March 1837,	20
Scipio,	Enoch Honeywell,		
Scott, (Columbia Co.)			
Seventh Free Church, N. Y.	Bates,		
Shelby,	Rev. R. Dunning,	March 1837,	23
Sheldon, (Genessee)	Daniel Rudd,	March 1836,	(54) 92
Sherburne,	G. Copeland,		100
Sherburne, (Female)	Mrs. H. Avery,	April 1835,	
Sheridan, (Chatauque)	Edmond Mead,		75
Shushan,	Daniel Valentine, Jr.		
Sinclairville, (Chatauque)			25
Smithfield and vicinity,	Colquhon Grant,	July 1836,	(14) 100
Smithfield, (Jefferson Co)	Austin Putnam,	May 1837,	
Somerset, (Niagara)	Elijah Richardson,	Nov. 1836,	87
South Evans, (Erie Co.)	Orange Rose, (Collins p.o.)	Dec. 1836,	(62) 72
Spencertown, (Columbia)	Henry Johnson,	June 1836,	(40) 62
Springfield, (Otsego Co.)	Wm. Lindsley,	Sept. 1836,	
Springville,	L. Parsons,	Sept. 1835,	(26) 108
Sterling, (Cayuga Co.)	Wm. McKnight,	June 1837,	30
Stockton, (Chautauque)			40
Stone Church, (Genessee)	Daniel Rudd,	March 1837,	(54) 92
Suffolk County,	Rev. J. R. Moser,	Aug. 1835,	
Sweden, (Monroe Co.)	Chauncey Staples,	March 1837,	150
Third Free Church, (N. Y.)	James W. Farr,		
Tompkins County,	B. Johnson, Esq. (Ithaca)	April 1837,	150
Troy,	John Matlocks,	April 1835,	150
Troy, (Female,)		April 1835,	
Turn, (Lewis Co.)	Henry Page,	May 1834,	161

NAMES.	SECRETARIES,	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Union Col'ge, (Schenectdy)	Geo. L. Lerow,	July 1836,	(41) 53
Utica,	Rev. C. Wetmore,	June 1834,	(60) 550
Utica, (Female,)	Mrs. M. S. Savage,	Nov. 1835,	70
Utica, (Young Men)	J. T. Marshall,	Dec. 1835,	100
Utica, (Juvenile)		April 1833,	
Utica, (Female Juvenile)		April 1833,	
Utica, (Wesleyan)	Andrew Hanna,		
Verona,	Ambrose Coan,	Feb. 1837,	30
Victor, (Ontario Co.)	A. Simonds,	Dec. 1836,	(70) 80
Vienna, (Oneida Co.)	Sullivan Brigham,	April 1834,	(6) 99
Volney,			
Wales,	Milton Noyes,	Dec. 1835,	(9) 50
Walton,	John S. Nash,	Nov. 1836,	(50) 80
Warsaw, (Genesee Co.)	F. C. D. McKay,	July 1834,	214
Washington County.		Nov. 1835,	
Washington,	Robert F. Biddle,		
Waterloo,	Joseph S. Dervey,	Dec. 1836,	20
Wesleyan, (N. Y. City)	Rev. Le Roy Sunderland,		
Westford,	Wm. Paddock,	Dec. 1836,	
West Hartwick, (Otsego.)	Erastus Robinson,		43
West Galway,		Nov. 1835,	
West Granville,		July 1835,	78
West Otto, (Cattaraugus)	John Ferris,	Feb. 13, 1837,	21
West Leyden,	Jonathan A. Pease,		33
West Aurora, (Erie Co.)	Rev. R. G. Murray,	Sept. 1835,	(25) 83
West Bloomfield, (Ontario)		Dec. 1836,	45
West Mendon,	P. Paulk,	Dec. 1836,	(20) 46
West Chester,	N. V. Pennyspaeker,		
West Groton, (Tomkins)	Joseph Goodyear,	June 1837,	40
Wesleyan, A.S. (Cazenova)			35
West Peru, (Clinton Co.)	E. E. Hoag,	April 1837,	
West Lincklaen,	W. Arigel,	June 1837,	55
West Sparta, (Livingston)			
West Sandlake, (Rensselaer)	James Parkes, Jr.		42
Wethersfield,	Morris Sutherland,		
Wheatland, (Niagara Co.)			
Whitesboro' (Female)	Emaline Smith,	May 1834,	(90) 50
Whitcreek,	H. R. Dunham,	March 1836,	
Whitestown,	Rev. L. H. Loss,	April 1834,	291
Wilson, (Niagara Co.)	Daniel Holmes,	Dec. 1835,	(17) 124
Winfield,		Feb. 1837,	30
Windsor,	Spencer Reed,	April 1834,	47
Woodhull,	Calvin Searl, Esq.	1836,	100
York, (Livingston Co.)	Rev. John Fisher,	April 1835,	(35) 140
Whole number of Societies, 274.			

## NEW JERSEY.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Boonton,	John Grimes,		
Newark, (Colored)	John A. King,	1837,	
Newark,	Ellison Conger,	April 1836,	60
Newark, (colored Juvenile)	Adam Ray,	Jan. 1837,	
Newark, (Juvenile)	N. Dougherty,	Jan. 1837,	150
Princeton,			
Patterson, (Juvenile)	Inslee,		
Springfield,		1834,	
Whippany,			
Whippany, (Juvenile)	Wm. H. Ritchel,	Jan. 1837,	
Whole number of Societies, 10.			

## PENNSYLVANIA.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
<i>Adams County,</i>	William M. Reynolds,	Dec. 1836.	31
Adamsburgh,	Robert McGuffey,		
Allegheny Town,		Jan. 1836.	
Amity, (Erie Co.)		1837.	36
Beaver Falls,	John Collins,	May 1836.	
Beaver County,	Rev. Geo. Scott,	Feb. 1836.	
Belfontaine, (Centre)			35
Big Sugar Creek,	Jas. Morrison, Esq.	1837.	
Bloomfield, (Crawford Co.)		1837.	30
<i>Bucks County,</i>	Mr. H. Johnson,	July 1836.	(20) 60
Buckingham, (B. Co. Fc.)		Dec. 1836.	(8) 17
Buffalo Township,	Abraham Ritner, (Wash.)	Jan. 1837.	60
Burgillstown, (Wash. Co.)	John Stevenson,	July 1836.	15
Carlisle, (Cumberland Co.)	Thomas Craighead, Jr.	Dec. 1836.	86
Ceres, (McKean Co.)	Daniel Edwards, Jr.	Feb. 1837.	
Clarkson, (Sadsbury)	Eli Hambleton,	Dec. 1832.	60
Clarksville, (Mercer Co.)	Samuel Fruits,		27
Conneautville, (Cr. Co.)	Theo. M. Power,	Feb. 1837.	
Connelsville, (Fayette)	Herman Gebhart,	April 1836.	39
Cross Creek, (Wash. Co.)	J. C. Allison,	Aug. 1836.	24
<i>Delaware County,</i>	James Rhoads,	Jan. 1837.	(21) 53
East Bethlehem, (Wash.)	Joseph Mills,	Dec. 1836.	25
East Fallowfield,	James Fulton, Jr.	Aug. 1835.	(34) 41
Elizabethtown,	James Elliott,	May 1836.	(13) 26
<i>Erie County,</i>	Rev. Charles Morton,	Feb. 1836.	
Fairview, (Erie Co.)		1837.	53
Falsington,			
Florence, (Wash. Co.)	Wm. R. Robb,	Mar. 1837.	35
Frankfort, (Philadel. Co.)	John Lewis,		
Greensburg, (West. Co.)	Albert Everhart,	May 1836.	
Greenfield, (Erie Co.)		1837.	20
Greenville, (Luzerne)			
Girard, (Erie Co.)		1837.	12
Harbour Creek, (Erie Co.)	James Moorhead,	Feb. 1837.	45
Harrisburgh,	Samuel Cross,	Jan. 1836.	
Hickory, (Mercer Co.)	John Rankin, Esq.	1837.	35
Honesdale, (Wayne)	Stephen Brush,	April 1836.	(86) 119
Kennelt, (Chester Co.)	Chandler Darlington,	Jan. 1837.	(29) 43
Kimberton, (Chester Co.)	Abby Kimber,	Dec. 1836.	24
Lower Delaware Ward,	Caleb Clothier,	Mar. 1837.	
Lower Wakefield,	William Beans,	Dec. 1836.	25
Lower Wakefield, (Fem.)	Ann Buckman,	Dec. 1836.	12
McKean, (Erie Co.)	Job Stafford,	1837.	60
Madisonville, (West. Co.)		Sept. 1836.	26
Mead Township,	Seth Ward,	Dec. 1836.	
<i>Mercer County,</i>	Rev. A. W. Black,	July 1835.	
Middletown, (Dauphin Co.)			
Millstown,		Aug. 1835.	50
Montrose, (Susq. Co.)		May 1836.	
Mount Pleasant, (Wash.)	Thos. Millar, (Hickory)	July 1836.	65
Mount Pleasant, (West.)	Isaac Snider,	Feb. 1836.	(50) 77
Mountville, (Beaver Co.)	Sam. Sterrill, (Portersv.)	July 1836.	211
Morris Township, (Wash.)	Albert Squier, (Sparta)	Dec. 1836.	23
New Alexandria, (West.)		Sep. 1836.	75
New Castle, (Mercer Co.)	S. A. Temple,	Jan. 1837.	99
Neshannock, (Mercer Co.)	Sam. Irvin, (Newcastle)	Dec. 1836.	58
Newton, (Bucks Co.)			
Northeast, (Erie Co.)	Dr. Ephraim Smedley,	Aug. 1835.	(29) 120
Nottingham, (Wash. Co.)	Dr. James Miller,	Jan. 1837.	24

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.
Oxford, (Chester Co.)	Joseph Keller,	Sept. 1836,	
Penns' Manor,	Charles Magill,	Dec. 1836,	20
Perryopolis, (Fayette Co.)		April 1836,	
Peters Creek, (Alleghany)	Hiram Hults,	July 1836,	(53) 85
Philadel., (City & County)	Daniel Neal, Jr.	April 1834,	(35) 80
Philadelphia, (Female)	Mary Grew,	Dec. 1833,	(20) 124
Philadelphia, (Juvenile)	Daniel L. Miller,	June 1836,	40
Philadelphia, (Junior)	Baldwin Chapman,		70
Pineville, (Bucks Co.)	Joseph Gunner,	Oct. 1836,	
Pittsburgh,	John Dickson,	Oct. 1833,	(20) 240
Do. & Alleghurg, (Female)	Mrs. H. B. Garram,	Jan. 1836,	(5) 85
Powerstown, (Crawford)		1837.	25
Salona,			
Shenango, (Crawford Co.)	John McFarn,	Dec. 1836,	86
Smithfield, (Fayette Co.)	Rev. B. Allen,	April 1836,	51
Spring, (Crawford Co.)	Mr. Wells,	1837,	23
Springfield, (Erie Co.)		1837,	30
South Mulberry Ward,	Wm. A. Garrigues,	Feb. 1837,	
Sugar Grove, (Warren Co.)		1837,	80
<i>Susquehanna County,</i>	Albert L. Post, (Montrose)	April 1836,	(80) 300
Upper Delaware Ward,	Rowland Johnson,		
Uechlan, (Chester Co.)	Morgan J. Thomas,	April 1837,	50
Warren, (Warren Co.)		1837,	66
<i>Washington County,</i>	Samuel McFarland,	July 1836,	
Washington, (Wash. Co.)	George W. Brice, Esq.	Sept. 1834,	(20) 170
Washington, (Fayette Co.)		April 1836,	
Washington, (Erie Co.)	Mr. Hells,	1837,	45
<i>Wayne County,</i>	Rev. Alfred Ketchum,	Jan. 1837,	32
Wayalusing, (Bradford Co.)	Dr. Geo. F. Horton,	Feb. 1837,	85
Wesleyan, (Philadelphia)			
West Chester,		Aug. 1835,	
West Middletown, (Wash.)	James McFadden,	Oct. 1835,	(100) 160
<i>Westmoreland County,</i>	William Brown,	Feb. 1836,	
York,			

Total number of Societies, 93.

## OHIO.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMES.
Abbeyville, (Meana Co.)	Mary W. Ladd,	Sept. 1836,	20
<i>Adams &amp; Brown County,</i>	John C. Poage,	Sept. 1833,	
Akron,	Wm. E. Wright,	Feb. 1836,	
Andover,			
Antrim, (Guernsey Co.)	John Walker,	Aug. 1836,	
Apple Creek,	Mr. Barrett,	Dec. 1836,	22
Ashland,	Wm. Wasson,		
<i>Ashtabula County,</i>	R. W. Walker,	1835,	
<i>Ashtabula Co. (Female)</i>	Miss Betsy Cowles,	Sept. 1835,	224
Athens, (Athens Co.)		Jan. 1836,	94
Atwater,			
Austinburg,			
Austintown, (Trumbull Co.)		1837,	23
Avon,			
Bagetta, (Trumbull Co.)	Moses Messer	Jan. 1837,	50
Batavia, (Clermont Co.)		Sept. 1836,	
Batavia,			
Beach Grove, (Adams Co.)		Sept. 1836,	22
Berkshire and Berlin,			

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Bethel, (Clermont Co.)	James Denham,	Sept. 1836.	26
Bloomfield, (Trumbull Co.)			
Bloomfield,	James T. Claypoole,	May 1835.	(35) 100
Brinfield,	William Hall,	Feb. 1836.	42
Bristol, (Trumbull Co.)	Alpheus Alvord,	Dec. 1836.	30
<i>Brown County,</i>			
Brownhelm, (Lor. Co.)	Eld. C. Bettes,	Dec. 1836.	50
Brookfield, (Trumbull Co.)			60
Bruceville, (Trumbull Co.)	William Griswold,	1837.	85
Brunswick,	A. Myers,	1835.	86
Cadiz, (Harrison Co.)	William Boyer,	1835.	50
Camden, (Preble Co.)	William Hall,		60
Canaan, (Wayne Co.)	Dr. John Paul, P. M.	Dec. 1836.	93
Canfield, (Trumbull Co.)		1836.	25
Canton, (Stark Co.)	Abraham Boyer,	1835.	50
Canton, (Female)	Mrs. E. A. G. Griswold,	Mar. 1836.	17
Cardington, (Marion Co.)	Thomas Sharp,	April 1837.	30
Carlsruhe,	N. S. Bishop,		40
Champion, (Trumbull)	Hiram Baldwin,	1837.	21
Charleston,	R. Loomis,	1835.	25
Chester Township,	James Baker,	Jan. 1837.	14
Chester, (Meigs Co.)	Dr. William N. Hudson,	April 1835.	(20) 125
Chillicothe,	John N. Templeton,		
Cincinnati,			
Circleville,			
Clarksfield,	Thomas F. Husted,	Aug. 1835.	26
Claridon,			
Clear Creek,	Joshua Brinkinhuff,	Dec. 1836.	30
<i>Clermont County,</i>			
Cleveland,	S. Severance,		
<i>Clinton County,</i>	Thomas Hibben, (Wilm.)	Oct. 1836.	
<i>Columbiana County,</i>	Abner G. Kirk,	Oct. 1834.	
Columbiana, (Colum. Co.)			
Cuyahoga Falls,	Ogden Wetmore,	Jan. 1836.	50
Deer Creek, (Stark Co.)	Samuel Beane,	Mar. 1836.	60
Delhi,			
Deerfield Township,	John Lewis,		25
<i>Delaware County,</i>	Milo D. Pettiebone, (Del.)	Nov. 1836.	(50) 140
Dover,	Wells Porter,	Jan. 1836.	
Edinburgh,	E. Pearson,	Mar. 1835.	24
Elyria,			
Elyria, (Female)			
Elyria, (Juvenile)	Helen Conger,	Aug. 1836.	
Euclid,			
Farmington, (Trumb. Co.)		1835.	71
Fairfield, (Columb. Co.)			
<i>Fayette County,</i>	James G. Claypole,	May 1835.	52
Felcity,			60
Finley's Bridge,	Benj. Finley,		
Filchville,			50
Fredericksburgh,		Dec. 1836.	
Freedom,	Daniel T. Milliken,		30
Freeport,	W. Wolcott,		25
Geneva,	A. Cowles,		40
Geneva, (Female)	Mary Fitch,		
<i>Geauga County,</i>	A. Saunders,	Sept. 1834,	(7) 650
Georgetown, (Har. Co.)	Isaac Lewis,	Mar. 1836.	(50) 75
Georgetown, (Brown Co.)			
Gilead, (Clermont Co.)	A. Coombs,	Sept. 1836.	40

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Grafton,			
Granville,	Dr. W. W. Bancroft,	July 1835,	
Granville, (Female)	Mary E. Drury,	June 1835,	40
Grassy Run,	Thos. Shannon,	Sept. 1836,	
Green, (Trumbull Co.)	M. Churchill,	1835,	75
Green Plain,	Thomas Barton,		
Green, (Green Co.)		1836,	90
Green, (Richland Co.)	Robert Wilson,		
Green Township,	John S. W. Fetridge,	Dec. 1836,	54
Gustavus,	G. A. Griswold,	Sept. 1833,	(70) 140
Hanover, (Columbiana)	Dr. Abel Carey,	March 1836,	30
<i>Harrison County,</i>		1834,	
Harrisville,	Samuel Lewis,		
Harrisville, (Medina Co.)	Wilson Burr,	Dec. 1836,	
Hartford, (Licking Co.)	David Bushnell,	Jan. 1837,	(60) 72
Hartford, (Trumbull)	Ralph Plumb,	1835,	96
Harveysburgh,	Dr. Jesse Harvey,	March 1836,	(14) 17
<i>Highland County,</i>			
Hinkley,	O. Wilcox,		36
Hubbard, (Trumbull Co.)	Alfred Tyler,	1837,	30
Hudson,	J. B. Walker,	Sept. 1834,	(30) 84
<i>Huron County.</i>	F. D. Parish, (Sandusky)	Jan. 1837,	100
Huntsburgh,			
Indian Creek,	Elias Williams, (Riley P. O.)		37
Irville, (Muskingum Co.)	Wilson Burr,	Dec. 1836,	
Israel Township, (Preble)	N. Brown, (Camden P. O.)		25
Jefferson,			
Jersey,	Stephen K. Ward,		
Johnsonville, (Trumbull)	Alpheus Alphone,	Dec. 1836,	30
Johnstonville,	N. Webb,		25
Kingsville,			
Kinsman,	Dr. Dudley Allan,	1836,	(55) 60
Kirtland, (Geauga Co.)			(86) 122
<i>Knor County,</i>	W. W. Beebe,	April 1836,	45
Leesburg and vicinity,	C. W. Scoles,	Feb. 1837,	33
Lexington,	Jonas Crosby,		
Liberty, (Trumbull Co.)	James Scott,	1837,	50
Lima,	James Austin,		
Litchfield,	O. Cole,	1836,	72
Liverpool,			54
<i>Loraine County,</i>	Albert A. Bliss,		
Lordstown, (Trumbull)		Jan. 1837,	20
Lyne,			
Madison,	Rev. E. W. Adams,	1835,	80
Madison, (Female)	Mrs. Glezen,		112
Mahoning,	J. H. Day,		
Marshallville,	George Hanner,	Dec. 1836,	30
Marlborough,	Dr. A. Brook,	Feb. 1836,	90
Marietta, (Wash. Co.)		Aug. 1834,	80
Mecca, (Trumbull Co.)	Enoch Starks,	Dec. 1836,	40
Medina,	Timothy Hudson, Esq.		
Mesopotamia, (Trumbull)	Alonzo Batez,	Nov. 1836,	40
Miami University,	J. W. Stone,		
Miami, (Logan Co.)			
Middlebury,			
Milan,			
Millbrook, (Wayne Co.)	Elisha Wyman,	Dec. 1836,	35
Millersburg, (Holmes Co.)			
Mount Leigh, (Adams Co.)		1836,	
Munroe, (Clermont Co.)	Samuel Jackson,	Sept. 1836,	

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Moulton,	Samuel Hall,	1835,	106
Mount Pleasant,			75
Mount Union,			
Munson,	A. H. Talcott,	Feb. 1836.	12
Muskingum, (Musk. Co.)	Jas. McCammon, (Ir. P. O.)	Dec. 1836.	23
Muskingum County,	A. G. Allen, (Putnam)	July 1835.	(180) 502
Muskingum Co. (Female)	Mrs. M. A. Sturges, (Pin.)	April 1835.	(52) 150
Nelson,	S. Baldwin,	May 1835.	50
New Garden,	Benj. B. Davis,	Feb. 1834.	(141) 216
New Athens, (Har. Co.)	William Lee,	Aug. 1834.	(10) 203
New Concord, (Musk. Co.)	Andrew Magare,	Dec. 1835.	(15) 133
Newkirk,			
New Lisbon,	John Frost,	Mar. 1836.	(34) 40
New Richmond,	W. G. Gage,	Jan. 1836.	(20) 60
Neville, (Clermont Co.)	Robert Galbreath,	Dec. 1836.	9
Newton Falls, (Trum. Co.)	Horace Stephens,	1837.	70
North Bloomfield,	Asa Smith,		24
Norwich,			
Oberlin,	N. T. Chamberlin,	June 1835.	(230) 300
Oberlin, (Female)	Mrs. E. P. Ingersol,	Dec. 183.	48
Oberlin, (Young Ladies')	Miss Angeline L. Terry,	Dec. 1835.	86
Ohio State,	Albert A. Guthrie,	April 1835.	
Painesville,	Raphael Marshall,	Sept. 1835.	(100) 153
Paint Valley,	Rev. James H. Dickey,	May 1833.	942
Penfield,			
Perru, (Delaware Co.)	William Grissell,	Feb. 1837.	(30) 106
Pickaway County,	J. B. Finley,	Mar. 1835.	
Plain Township,	James Baker,	Jan. 1837.	14
Poland, (Trumbull Co.)		1837.	200
Portage County,	James S. Carpenter,		
Portage Co. (Female)	Miss Lucy Wright,		
Randolph,	Truman Case,	Feb. 1834.	(14) 55
Ravenna,		Oct. 1835.	
Richfield,	Wyllys Welton,	Jan. 1836.	
Richhill, (Muskingum Co.)	Elijah Forsyth,	Dec. 1836.	
Ripley,	Hon. A. Campbell,		
Ross County,	William Gage,	Aug. 1836.	242
Russel,	Wesley Whipple,	Jan. 1836.	(22) 33
Salem, (Colum. Co.)	A. G. Kirk,	1836.	70
Scott Township, (Adams)	James Williams,	July 1835.	50
Sheffield,	J. S. Burrill,	Jan. 1836.	(50) 77
Somerton, (Belmont Co.)	B. Stanton,	1835.	(15) 85
St. Alban's,	Wm. H. Holden,	July 1835.	70
St. Alban's, (Female)	ret. case,		
Southington, (Trum. Co.)	an	1837.	27
Springfield, (Ham. Co.)	N. S. Schooley,	Dec. 1836.	43
Stark County,	A. Baer, Jun.	1836.	60
Steubenville, (Jeffers. Co.)	James E. Wilson,	April 1837.	60
Streetsboro,	D. Lane,	Nov. 1835.	46
Storrs,			
Tallmadge,	Elizur Wright, Esq.	April 1833.	87
Trumbull County,	Rev. Benj. Penn,	Nov. 1836.	
Union Township, (B. Co.)	N. Brown, (Camden P. O.)		25
Unity, (Colum. Co.)			
Utica, (Licking Co.)		Dec. 1836.	50
Vienna, (Trum. Co.)	Halsey P. Hart,	1831.	70
Vernon,	Samuel Plumb,		50
Vernon, (Female)	Mary P. Sutliff,	Aug. 1835.	20
Wakeman,			70
Warren,			

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Washington County,	S. Hall,	Feb. 1836,	
Waynesburgh, (Wayne)	William Rogers,	Feb. 1836,	
Waynesburgh, (Stark Co.)			30
Wayne, (Female)	Rachel Babcock,		
Weathersfield, (Trumbull)		Jan. 1837,	70
Welch Hill,	Erasmus Phillips,	Oct. 1835,	(30) 40
Wellington,			60
Western Reserve,	Rev. John Montith,	Aug. 1833,	
Western Reserve College,	Horace C. Taylor,	Nov. 1833,	70
West Union,			60
White Oak, (Brown Co.)		1836,	
Willoughby,		April 1836,	121
Windham,	Dea. Kingsley,	Sept. 1834,	60
Wooston and Milbrook,			
Youngstown, (Trumbull)	Wm. H. Fitch,	July 1836,	(73) 170
Whole number of Societies, 213.			

## INDIANA.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Logansport, (Cass Co.)		1836,	35
South Hanover College,			

## ILLINOIS.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Canton,	J. W. Willis,		42
Jefferson County,	Col. James Morrow,	Dec. 1836,	
Lofton Prairie,	J. Brown, (Jerseyville p.o.)	Oct. 1836,	

## MICHIGAN.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Ann Arbor,		Jan. 1837,	
Detroit,	Charles H. Stewart,	April 1837,	
Dexter, (Washtenaw)	Geo. Millard,		28
East Bloomfield, (Oakland)	Nathan Stone,	Jan. 1837,	70
Farmington, (Oakland)	Nathan Power,		60
Gull Prairie,	Pitt Giddings,		70
Lenawee County,	Dr. Comstock,		
Logan,	Thos. Thayer,		114
MICHIGAN, (State)	Arthur L. Ort,	Dec. 1836,	
Monroe, (Monroe Co.)	W. V. Stoddard,	Feb. 1837,	25
Niles, (Berrien Co.)	W. S. Elliott,	Oct. 1836,	25
Oakland County,	Geo. W. Wisner,	Feb. 1836,	50
Raisin,	Jeremiah Westgate,	April 1837,	40
Tecumseh, (Lenawee Co.)	Benj. Workman,	Jan. 1837,	30
Troy, (Oakland Co.)	Charles Hastings,		72
Webster & Scio, (Washten.)	John Holden,	March 1836,	(20) 34
West Bloomfield,			
Whole number of Societies, 17.			

## UPPER CANADA.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Upper Canada,	Rev. E. Evans, (Toronto)	Jan. 1837,	106

Total number of Societies in the United States, - - - 1006.



#### ART. VI.

The Board of Managers shall annually elect an Executive Committee, to consist of not less than five, nor more than twelve members, which shall be located in New York, who shall have power to enact their own by-laws, fill any vacancy in their body, and in the offices of Secretary and Treasurer, employ agents, determine what compensation shall be paid to agents, and to the Corresponding Secretaries, direct the Treasurer in the application of all moneys, and call special meetings of the Society. They shall make arrangements for all meetings of the Society, make an annual written report of their doings, the income, expenditures and funds of the Society, and shall hold stated meetings, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power to advance the objects of the Society.

#### ART. VII.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or, in their absence, a President *pro tem*. The Corresponding Secretaries shall conduct the correspondence of the Society. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society, and of the Executive Committee, and shall keep records of the same in separate books. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, make payments at the direction of the Executive Committee, and present a written and audited account to accompany the annual report.

#### ART. VIII.

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held each year at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct, when the accounts of the Treasurer shall be presented, the annual report read, appropriate addresses delivered, the Officers chosen, and such other business transacted as shall be deemed expedient. A special meeting shall always be held on the Tuesday immediately preceding the second Thursday in May, in the city of New York, at ten o'clock, A. M., provided the annual meeting be not held there at that time.

#### ART. IX.

Any Anti-Slavery Society, or association, founded on the same principles, may become auxiliary to this Society. The Officers of each Auxiliary Society shall be ex-officio members of the Parent Institution, and shall be entitled to deliberate and vote in the transaction of its concerns.

#### ART. X.

This Constitution may be amended, at any annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two thirds of the members present, provided the amendments proposed have been previously submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committee.

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### CORRESPONDENCE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Since the Annual Meeting of the Society, WILLIAM JAY, Esq., having resigned, the Executive Committee have filled the vacancy and increased the number of Corresponding Secretaries to three, by the appointment of JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., of Cincinnati, and HENRY B. STANTON, Esq., formerly an agent of the Society.

Letters of agents, and pertaining to the subject of agency, may be addressed to JOHN G. WHITTIER, Esq., till the arrival of Mr. Birney, which is expected in September.

Letters pertaining to *petitions* to Congress and the State Legislatures, should be addressed to HENRY B. STANTON, Esq.

Communications for the publications and letters from foreign countries, should be addressed to ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.

All subscriptions for publications, and letters in regard to their pecuniary affairs, should be addressed to R. G. WILLIAMS, Publishing Agent. All donations and subscriptions to the treasury should be addressed to the same for the present, as Assistant Treasurer.

✂ All letters should be directed to 143 NASSAU STREET, New-York.

✂ Letters which contain matters designed for two or more of the persons above mentioned should be so written, if possible, that *they can be cut apart* without injury, and separately filed.

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